

THE
HISTORIE
OF THE
HERETICS
OF THE

TWO FIRST CENTURIES AFTER CHRIST:

CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF
THEIR TIME, OPINIONS, AND TESTIMONIE
TO THE BOOKS OF THE
NEW TESTAMENT.

TO WHICH ARE PREFIXED,
GENERAL OBSERVATIONS CONCERNING
HERETICS.

PUBLISHED FROM THE MANUSCRIPT OF THE LATE
REVEREND AND LEARNED

NATHANIEL LARDNER, D. D.

WITH LARGE ADDITIONS,

BY JOHN HOGG.

L O N D O N:

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M,DCC,LXXX.



P R E F A C E.

THE following Work is part of that scheme, which the learned Dr. LARDNER had planned, in order to give a full and comprehensive view of the Credibility of the Gospel History. The world hath been long in possession of the greater number of those Treatises, which were intended to compleat it: comprehending, *The Testimonies to the Occasional Facts, mentioned in the New Testament: The Testimonies of Christian Writers, to the Books of the New Testament: and also, The Testimonies of Jews and Heathens, to the Books and principal Facts.* The remaining part, as the Dr. himself informs us, (a) was intended to contain, *The Testimonies of Christian Writers to the principal Facts of the New Testament: and also, The History of the Heretics of the two first Centuries.*

This history is now laid before the public. It was chiefly drawn up by the Dr. himself, and lay by him several (b) years. Some parts of it were compleatly fitted for the press, having received his last corrections.

In

(a) See Preface to *The Credibility, &c.* Part 2d. Vol. 12, p. 5, 6.

(b) Ibid. p. 7.

In other parts, only a few hints were written, (*c*) which I have endeavoured to follow with fidelity and exactness. Those passages of antient authors, which from any scattered observations or loose papers, it appeared the worthy author intended to insert, I have attentively perused, and chiefly regarded, in drawing up what was necessary to compleat each article.

The additions in some of the chapters of the second book, are very considerable. Under the articles of Basilides and Marcion, they are more than half. The chapter of Leucius, is almost entirely new, as there were but two pages written by Dr. Lardner. And the chapter of the Elcesaites is also new, after the end of the third section.

I have published nothing concerning any heretic, but where the learned writer had either drawn up part, or left some hints or references. At first I intended to have begun the second book, with the history of Simon Magus, and to have added a short chapter concerning Menander, his scholar and successor. But after I had read several authors with that view, I found I still wanted many, which I could not easily procure, and without perusing which, it appeared improper to publish any thing on so obscure and intricate a subject. Besides, upon further consideration, it seemed most adviseable, to give to the public

(*c*) This was the case with a great part of the 8th and 9th sections of Book I, with the whole 10th section, and with all the sections in that book, after the 11th.

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public this work of Dr. Lardner's by itself. For though there are in it many, and large additions of my own, yet they are all founded either on some hints, or references in the Doctor's papers, or on passages of those very authors, which he himself so frequently quotes in this and other parts of his Credibility.

Mr. Joseph Jennings, the Nephew and Executor of Dr. Lardner, committed to me in the year 1769, the papers relative to the present history; desiring me to peruse them, and to request the assistance of my late worthy and learned friend the Rev. Samuel Merivale, in order to their being prepared for the press. Mr. Merivale declined undertaking any thing further, than carefully examining the articles, after they were put in order, and fitted for the press. Accordingly, as soon as each article was finished, the manuscript was delivered to him, and I have the satisfaction to say, met with his approbation. All, except the two chapters of Basilides and Leucius, were compleated before his death.

I am sensible of many imperfections attending this publication, which would have been avoided, had the worthy author lived to have compleated it himself: it is however hoped, that even in its present form, it deserves the attention of the public.

As to the additions, I must entreat the world to judge of them with candour. For I am very sensible, they are
far

far inferior to those parts which were finished by Dr. Lardner himself.

I cannot conclude this preface, without making my acknowledgments, to a worthy clergyman in this neighbourhood, who kindly requested for me the use of several books from the Cathedral library in this city, which was immediately granted.

JOHN HOGG.

EXETER, June 5th, 1779.



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ERRATA.

Page

- 15 Note (o) line 3, insert *apud alios* 49 at the end of that note, and blot these words out from the beginning of the next paragraph.
 41 Text, line 3, for *probably* read *properly*.
 50 Text, line 2, for *suppositious* read *supposititious*.
 70 Text, line 4, insert (*seven*) between a parenthesis.
 83 Note (o) 2d col. line 2, for *προνουον* read *προνουονν*.
 100 Note (m) col. 2, line 9, for *scala* read *sexta*.
 102 Title of sec. 19, for *probable* read *probably*.
 123 line 4, for *section* read *chapter*.
 161 line last but one, for *bad* read *bath*.
 164 line 22, for *perfection* read *perfections*.
 176 Note (e) col. 2, in the reference, insert, 76 *Grabe*.
 202 Note (o) reference, for *V. T.* read *V. I.*
 219 Note (i) line 6, from the bottom put *i. e.* in Italics, and separate the two letters.
 222 Note (r) line 3, for *fenim* read *ferum*.
 233 line 12, insert, *for*, between *and* and *their*.
 255 Text, line 6, for *μητης* read *μητηρ*.
 — And in the reference in the 3d instance, after *see*, for *sec. 253, page 70*, read *page 620. — Note (d) in this section.*

Page

- 272 Note (b) for *Test* read *Tert*.
 273 Text, line 4, from the bottom, for *edition* read *addition*.
 275 Text, line 19, dele, and *which were taken from an epistle, which then bore*, and insert *under*, before *the*.
 277 Text, line 1, for *former* read *present*.
 289 to 313 running title, for *Lucius* read *Lucian*.
 294 Text, line 4, from the bottom, for *suppositious* read *supposititious*.
 302 Text, line 8, for *the Virgin* read *Mary*.
 306 Text, line 14, for *word* read *wood*.
 307 Note (b) 2d col. line 1, for *impiose* read *imperiose*.
 — Text, line 15, for *them* read *him*.
 321 Note (d) line 1, for *ουδεις* read *συδεις*, and add 25 after *cap*.
 330 Text, line 14, for *gospels* read *gospel*.
 346 Note (b) line 3, for *8* read *o*.
 435 line 1, dele *Qu. who is Alciabes, mentioned in Theodoret's account*.
 448 Text, 2d line, dele *also*.

P. S. There are some other misprintings of the Greek and Latin quotations, which the learned reader will easily correct with his pen as he goes along.

HISTORY OF HERETICS, &c.

BOOK THE FIRST.

General Observations concerning Heretics.

SECT. I.

The Meaning of the Word Heresy.

HERESY, in Greek, signifies (*a*) election or choice, and SECT. I.
is used (*b*) for any opinion, which a man chooseth, as
best, or most probable.

Heresy, and heretic, are often used by ancient writers, as
words of indifferent meaning. And (*c*) the several ways of
philosophizing were called sects or heresies. (*d**)

B

Instances

(*a*) Αἵρεσις autem græcè ab electione
dicitur: quod scilicet eam sibi unusquisque
eligat disciplinam, quam putat esse meliorem.
Hieron. ad Galat. cap. v. t. 4. P. i. p. 302.
Conf. *Suicer. V. Αἵρεσις*, et *Cleric H. E.*
An. 83. n. ii. iii.

(*b*) Αἵρεσις ἡ λόγῳ τινὶ κατὰ τὸ φαινόμενον
ἀκολοθῆσα, ἡ δοκῶσα ἀκολουθεῖν. *Suid. Vid. et*
Diog. Laert. lib. i. proem. § 19. 20.

(*c*) Ἰπποβοτος δὲ . . . εἰναι φησὶν αἵρεσις εἶναι

τῶν φιλοσοφῶν καὶ αἰγῶνας. *Suid. et Diog. Laert.*
ibid.

Opiniones omnium philosophorum, qui
sectas varias condiderunt . . . sex non parvis
voluminibus quidam Celsus absolvit. *Au-*
gustin. de Haer. in Praef.

(**d*) Cato autem perfectus Stoicus, et ea
sentit, et in ea est hæresi. &c. *Cicero. Para-*
dox. Intro. Ed. Verbrug. pars. 10. tem.
15. p. 3820.

SECT. I.

Instances of the innocent meaning of the word heresy occur in the New Testament, Acts v. 17. *Then the High-priest rose up, and all they that were with him, which (d) is the sect of the Sadducees.* ch. xv. 5. *Then (e) rose up certain of the sect of the Pharisees, which believed.* xxvi. 5. *After (f) the strictest sect of our religion I lived a Pharisee.*

Josephus, in like manner, speaking of the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essens, calls them (g) sects or heresies, without any mark of censure. They were (h) the several ways of philosophizing among the Jews. (i)

In several places of the Epistles of the New Testament, as 1 Cor. xi. 19. Gal. v. 20. 2 Pet. ii. 1. Tit. iii. 10. the words heresy and heretic, are used in a bad sense. Nor is it, I apprehend, void of reproach in Acts xxiv. 5. where *Tertullus*, the orator, pleading before *Felix*, says of *Paul*: *We have found this man a pestilent fellow, . . . and (k) a ringleader of the sect of the Nazarens.* Nor does the meaning appear quite innocent in Acts xxviii. 22. *As (l) concerning this sect we know, that it is every where spoken against.* Nor in chap. xxiv. 14. *But this I confess unto thee, that (m) after the way, which they call heresy, so worship I the God of my fathers, be-*
lieving

(d) Η ἑσα αἵρεσις τῶν σαδδουκαίων.

(e) Τινες τῶν ἀπο τῆς αἵρεσεως τῶν φαρισαίων.

(f) Κατὰ τὴν ἀκριβεστάτην αἵρεσιν τῆς ἡμετέρας θρησκείας.

(g) Ἡξαμὴν τε πολιτευεσθαι τῇ φαρισαίων αἵρεσι κατακολυθῶν, ἡ παραπλησίως ἐστὶ τῇ παρ ἑλλήσι γῶικῃ λεγομένῃ. *Joseph. Vit. n. 2.*

. . γένος δὲ σφοδρὰ λαμπρὰ τῆς τῶν φαρισαίων αἵρεσεως. *Ib. n. 38.*

Κατὰ δὲ τὸν χρόνον τούτον τρεῖς αἵρεσεις τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἦσαν . . ὧν ἡ μὲν φαρισαίων ἐλεγέτο, ἡ δὲ σαδδουκαίων, ἡ τρίτη δὲ ἐσσηνῶν. *Antiq. Jud. l. 13. c. v. n. 9.*

(h) Τρεῖς γὰρ παρὰ Ἰουδαίους εἶδη φιλοσοφεῖται, καὶ τῇ μὲν αἵρετιζαὶ φαρισαῖοι, τῇ δὲ σαδδουκαῖοι, τρίτον δὲ, ὃ δὴ καὶ δοκεῖ σεμνότητα ἀσκεῖν, ἐσσηνοὶ καλεῖνται. *De B. I. l. 2. c. 8. n. 2.*

Ἰουδαίους φιλοσοφίαι τρεῖς ἦσαν. *Antiq. l. 18. c. i. n. 2.*

(i) Of the Jewish sects may be seen more at large in this work. Part I. B. I. ch. iv.

(k) . . πρωτοστάτην τε τῆς τῶν ναζωραίων αἵρεσεως.

(l) Περὶ μὲν γὰρ τῆς αἵρεσεως ταύτης. κ. λ.

(m) . . κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν, ἣν λεγούσιν αἵρεσιν.

HERETICS AND HERESY.

3

SECT. I.

believing all things, which are written in the Law and the (n) Prophets. Where the Apostle honestly owns before *Felix*, that he was a Christian, or of that way, which most of the Jewish people called heresy, or a sect, a new sect or heresy. At the same time he intimates, (though without being very solicitous to avoid the imputation) that the scheme and principles, professed and taught by him, was so agreeable to the Law and the Prophets, that there hardly was sufficient reason to call it heresy, or to reckon the followers of it a new and distinct sect.

Among Christians these words are very frequently taken in a bad sense. The reason of which seems to lie in what Tertulian says, with a view to the primary meaning of the word heresy, viz. *a chosen opinion and doctrine*: (*o*) that there should be no heresies among Christians, and that (*p*) a heretic forfeits the character of a Christian: forasmuch (*p**) as there is nothing left to their invention. They ought all to adhere to the doctrine taught by, and received from Christ and his

B 2

Apostles,

(*n*) The reader, if he thinks fit, may see what was said formerly upon this text in the first part of this work. *B. i. ch. viii. §. vii. p. 423. 3d ed. or 407 1st Ed.*

(*o*) Sed et in omni penè epistola de adulterinis doctrinis fugiendis inculcans, hæreses taxat, quarum opera sunt adulteræ doctrinæ: hæreses dictæ ac Græca voce ex interpretatione electionis, quâ quis sive ad instituendas, sive ad suscipiendas eas utitur. Nobis vero nihil ex nostro arbitrio inducere licet, sed nec eligere quod aliquis de arbitrio suo induxerit. Apostolos Domini habemus auctores, qui nec ipsi quicquam ex suo arbitrio, quod inducerent, elegerunt; sed acceptam a Christo disciplinam fideliter nationibus assignaverunt. *De Præscr. Hær. cap. 6. p. 232. B. p. 202. Ed. Fran.*

(*p*) Si enim hæretici sunt, Christiani esse non possunt, non a Christo habendo quod de sua electione sectati hæreticorum nomina admittunt. *Ib. cap. 37. p. 245. p. 212. Ed. Fran.*

(*p**) Si propheta es, prænuntia aliquid: si apostolus, prædica publicè: si apostolicus, cum apostolis senti: si tantum Christianus es, crede quod traditum est. Si nihil istorum es, merito dixerim, morere. Nam et mortuus es, qui non es Christianus, non credendo quod creditum Christianos facit. *Id. de Carne Chr. c. 2. p. 358. p. 298. Ed. Fran.*

Unde autem extranei et inimici apostolis hæretici, nisi ex diversitate doctrinæ, quam unusquisque de suo arbitrio adversus apostolos aut protulit, aut recepit? *De Præscr. Hær. cap. 37. p. 246. p. 212. Ed. Fran.*

Apostles, who have delivered all the principles of true religion.

Therefore he says, that (*q*) Marcion is plainly convicted to be a heretic, because he had chosen a faith different from what he had received in the catholic church. And (*r*) Adam, he says, may be called a heretic, because he made a choice contrary to the divine order.

And with regard to the presumption of those men who introduced new opinions, he pleasantly says, that (*s*) invention is an heretical privilege, and that (*t*) heretics, as well as poets and painters, have a certain licence allowed them.

And it is no uncommon thing for catholic writers, to blame those, called heretics, who took to themselves a particular denomination from some one man, or leader. So particularly (*u*) Justin Martyr. And we have seen upon divers occasions, how the (*x*) most rational and understanding Christians disclaimed all names, but that of their master, Jesus Christ.

We may here take notice of an observation of some learned moderns, that (*y*) though in Christian writers heresy is often used

(*q*) Marcion Deum quem invenerat, extincto lumine fidei suæ, amisit. Non negabunt discipuli ejus, primam illius fidem nobiscum fuisse, ipsius literis testibus: ut hinc jam destinari possit hæreticus, qui deserto quod prius fuerat, id postea sibi elegerit, quod retro non erat, &c. *Adv. Marc. l. i. cap. i. p. 431. A. p. 350. Ed. Fran.*

(*r*) Aut quis dubitabit, ipsum illud Adæ delictum hæresin pronunciare, quod per electionem suæ potius quam divinæ sententiæ admisit? . . . Radis admodum hæreticus fuit. Non obaudiit. Non tamen blasphemavit Creatorem, &c. *Adv. M. l. 2. cap. 2. p. 454. C. D. p. 368. Ed. Fran.*

(*s*) Licuit et Valentino, ex privilegio hæretico, carnem Christi spiritalem com-

minisci. Quidvis eam fingere potuit, quicquid humanam credere noluit. *De C. C. cap. 15. p. 370. p. 306. Ed. Fran.*

(*t*) . . si fortè poetica, et pictoria licentia, et tertia jam hæretica. *Adv. Marc. l. i. c. 3. in. p. 431. p. 351.*

(*u*) Καὶ εἰσὶν αὐτῶν, οἱ μὲν τινὲς καλεῖσθαι μαρκιανοὶ, οἱ δὲ οὐαλεντιανοὶ, οἱ δὲ βασιλειδιανοὶ, οἱ δὲ σατοριλιανοὶ, καὶ ἄλλοι ἄλλῳ ὀνόματι, ἀπὸ τῆ ἀρχηγῆς τῆς γνῶμης ἑκάστος ὀνομαζόμενος· οὗ τῆς οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς τῆς λόγου τοῦ ὀνόματος τῆς φιλοσοφίας ηἰκεῖται φερεῖν. *Dialog. cum Tr. p. 253. 254. Paris, 1636.*

(*x*) See Vol. viii. p. 224. 317. ix. p. 411.

(*y*) Postea etiam hæreses dictæ vulgo apud Christianos opiniones ipsæ, eæque a recta

used as equivalent to opinion, and particularly, a wrong opinion, or false doctrine; yet, that is not the most ancient sense of the word, but sect, or party. And indeed it must be so understood in several passages alleged at the beginning of this article.

I may just add, that Chrysostom, Theodoret, and others, whose words are cited by *Suicer*, (*z*) do not by *heretics*, in 1 Cor. xi. 19. understand wrong opinions, but contentions, and divisions.

SECT. II. *It is difficult to define what is Heresy, or who is an Heretic.*

BUT though so much has been said for settling the meaning of the word, it is not easy to shew by an exact definition, what is heresy, or who is an heretic. Thus much is acknowledged by Augustin, who says, that (*a*) every heresy is an error, but every error is not an heresy. In another place he says: It (*b*) seems to him, that heresy is, when a man for

SECT. II.

recta doctrina abhorrentes, et hæretici vocati, qui eas tuebantur: quamvis peculiarem nullam sectam, quæ seorsim a ceteris Christianis ageret, condere adgrederentur. Quo tamen sensu in Apostolorum scriptis non occurrunt. *Cleric. H. E.. An. 83. n. iii.*

(*z*) Diximus vocem *αἵρεσις* hac tertia significatione sumi, 1 Cor. xi. 19. Hic tamen dissimulandum non est, veteres non intelligere doctrinam orthodoxiæ contrariam, sed contentiones, &c. *Suicer. V. Αἵρεσις. p. 119, 120.*

(*a*) Non enim omnis error hæresis est: quamvis omnis hæresis, quæ in vitio ponitur, nisi errore aliquo hæresis esse non possit.

Quid ergo faciat hæreticum, regulari quadam definitione comprehendere, sicut ego existimo, aut omnino non potest, aut difficillime potest. Quod in processu hujus operis declarabitur. *De Hæresib. pr. tom. 8. tom. 6. f. 3. D. Vene. 1570.*

(*b*) Nunc vero, cum inter hæc duo plurimum intersit: quandoquidem hæreticus est, ut mea fert opinio, qui alicujus temporalis commodi, et maxime gloriæ principatusque sui gratia, falsas ac novas opiniones vel gignit, vel sequitur. Ille autem, qui hujusmodi hominibus credit, homo est imaginatione quadam veritatis ac pietatis illus. *De Util. Cred. cap. i. in tom. 8. t. 6. 29. E.*

the sake of glory, or power, or other secular advantages, either invents, or embraces and follows new and false opinions. And he thinks, there is a great difference between such a one, and another, who is deluded by him under the specious appearances of truth or piety. This will acquit many from the charge of heresy, or very much abate their guilt.

However, for better understanding this matter we may farther observe, that it is generally allowed, that (c) a heretic is one, who professeth to be a Christian, but is not supposed to be of the church, having (d) either separated himself from it, or been excluded from it by others. Such descriptions of heretics are very common in Augustin, and Tertullian, who says, that (e) heretics have no communion with other Christians, but are strangers, without the Church.

But

(c) Παντες οι απο των ομωμενων, ως φημεν, χριστιανοι καλενται. *Just. M. Ap. ii. p. 70. B.*

. . . τοιυτες ειναι ανδρας, ομολογυντας εαυτες ειναι χριστιανους, και τον σταυρωθεντα ιησον ομολογουν, και κυριον και χριστον, και μη τα εμειν διδαγματα διδασκοντας. *Dial. cum. Tryph. p. 253. A. Vid. ib. E.*

Itaque ille hæreticus, siquidem de his nobis sermo est, qui se Christianos dici volunt. *Aug. de util. cred. cap. 14. n. 30. in t. 8. t. 6. 35. E.*

Insidiantur hæretici pallio velati nominis Christiani. *Enarr. in PS. LX. p. 5. t. 4. t. 8. 202. F.*

Et vos, et omnes hæretici, qui quoquo modo Christiani appellantur. *Contr. Faust. l. 20. cap. x. sub fin. t. 8. t. 6. 117. M.*

Et quoniam quoquo modo Christianum se videri cupit. *Contr. Advers. L. et Pto. l. i. c. i. t. 8. t. 6. 188. M.*

(d) Qui ergo in ecclesia Christi morbidum aliquid prævumque sapiunt, si correpti, ut sanum rectumque sapiant, resistunt contu-

maciter, suaque pestifera et mortifera dogmata emendare nolunt, sed defensare persistunt, hæretici fiunt, et foras exeuntes habentur in exercitibus inimicis. *Aug. De liv. Dei. l. 18. c. 51. t. 7. t. 5. 184. A.*

Extolluntur inde, et superbiunt inde, et videntur sibi sapientes. Hoc autem contigit omnibus hæreticis. Qui cum essent animales et carnales defendendo sententias suas pravæ, quas falsas esse non potuerunt videre, exclusi sunt de catholica. *Ejusd. Enarr. in Ps. cxxx. c. 9. t. 4. t. 8. 502. A.*

Baptizatum autem posse separari ab Ecclesia quis dubitavit? Inde quippe omnes hæreses exierunt, quæ vocabulo Christiano decipiunt. *Id. De Baptism. Contr. Donat. l. 5. c. 15. n. 20. t. 9. t. 7. 142. K.*

Statim enim ut unaquæque hæresis existeret, et a congregatione catholicæ communionis exhibat. . . . *Ib. c. 19. n. 24. t. 7. 143. E.*

(e) Hæretici autem nullum habent confortium nostræ disciplinæ, quos extraneos utique

HERETICS AND HERESY.

7

SECT. II.

But whether they were allowed by others to be Christians, or not, they always called themselves Christians, and laid claim to that character. What is said of the Valentinians by so ancient a writer as Irenæus, is very observable. When (*f*) the ecclesiastical (or orthodox) Christians refused to converse with them, they complained of it, as hard usage, since they held the same, or like doctrine with them. Lactantius says, that (*g*) all heretics affirmed, that they were the best Christians, and the catholic church. To the like purpose Salvian: they (*h*) believe what they profess to be true. And they think themselves to be orthodox. As they are heretics in our esteem, so are we in theirs. And as for those of the first two centuries, who called themselves Christians, and professed faith in Jesus; what good reason can there be to dispute their veracity and integrity? The profession (*i*) of the Christian name was not then the way to honour, profit, or pleasure.

“ Jerome says, that (*k*) heresy is an opinion different from
“ the right interpretation of Scripture. He therefore, who
“ holds

utique testatur ipsa ademptio communicationis. Non debeo in illis cognoscere quod mihi est præceptum, quia non idem Deus est nobis et illis, nec unus Christus, id est, idem, ideoque nec baptismus unus, quia non idem. *De Baptism. cap. 15. p. 262. D. p. 224. Ed. Fran.*

(*f*) Qui etiam queruntur de nobis, quod cum similia nobiscum sentiant, sine causa abstineamus nos a communicatione eorum, et cum eadem dicant, et eandem habeant doctrinam, vocemus eos hæreticos. *Iren. l. 3. c. xv. n. 2. p. 203. p. 237. Ed. Grab. Ox. 1702.*

(*g*) Sed tamen quia singuli quique cœtus hæreticorum se potissimum Christianos, et suam esse catholicam ecclesiam putant, sciendum est, &c. *Instit. l. 4. cap. ult. p. 450. p. 519. Ed. Walchii Lips. 1715.*

(*h*) Hæretici ergo sunt, sed non scientes. Denique apud nos sunt hæretici, apud se non sunt. Nam in tantum se catholicos esse judicant, ut nos ipsos titulo hæreticæ appellationis infament. *Salvian De Gub. l. 5. p. 100. p. 153. Ox. 1633.*

(*i*) Nihil enim causæ erat, cur Valentiniani videri vellent Christiani, a cujus nominis societate iis temporibus nil commodi sperari poterat, sed potius mala omnia. *Heuman. ap. Act. Lips. Mens. April. 1712. p. 176.*

(*k*) Αἵρεσις autem Græcè ab electione dicitur. Quicumque igitur aliter scripturam intelligit, quam sensus Spiritus Sancti flagitat, quo conscripta est, licet de Ecclesia non recesserit, tamen hæreticus appellari potest: et de carnis operibus est, eligens quæ pejora sunt. *Hieron in Gal. cap. 5. t. 4. P. i. p. 302.*

SECT. II. " holds such an opinion, may be a heretic, though he is not
 " separated from the Church." Nay (l) he supposeth that
 pastors of the Church may teach heresy.

Elsewhere he speaks of (m) heretics being excluded from
 the Church. At other times he says, that (n) heretics with-
 draw, and separate themselves from the Church. As does
 Cyprian also in a passage, cited (o) by us formerly.

Origen seems to have supposed, that (p) great errors only
 ought to be reckoned heresies, such as those of *Marcion*, *Val-
 entin*, and *Basilides*, and some others, who did not believe
 the same God, to have been the God of the Old and the New
 Testament.

(l) Possumus autem hoc juxta tropolo-
 giam et de Ecclesiæ principibus intelligere,
 qui tamen non dignè regunt oves Domini.
 . . . Perdunt oves pastores, qui docent. In
Jerem. cap. xxiii t. 3. p. 634.

(m) Omnis enim hæreticus nascitur in
 Ecclesia, sed de Ecclesia projicitur: et con-
 tendit, et pugnat contra Ecclesiam. In
Jerem. cap. xxii p. 631.

(n) Propterea vero a semet ipso dicitur
 damnatus, quia fornicator . . et cetera vitia,
 per sacerdotes de Ecclesia propelluntur.
 Hæretici autem in semetipsos sententiam
 ferunt, suo arbitrio de Ecclesia recedentes.
 Quæ recessio propriæ conscientiae videtur esse
 damnatio. Inter hæresim et schisma hoc
 esse arbitrantur, quod hæresis perversum
 dogma habeat. Schisma propter episco-

palem dissensionem ab Ecclesiâ separetur,
 &c. *Id. ad Tit. iii. t. 4 p. 439. Conf. eund.*
in Js. cap. xxii. t. 3. p. 196.

(o) See Vol. iv. p. 820.

(p) Quid vero sit hæreticus homo, pro
 viribus nostris secundum quod sentire possumus,
 describamus. Omnis qui se Christo
 credere profitetur, et tamen alium Deum
 Legis et Prophetarum, alium Evangeliorum
 Deum dicit, et Patrem Domini nostri Jesu
 Christi, non eum dicit esse, qui a Lege et
 Prophetis prædicatur, sed alium nescio quem
 ignotum omnibus . . . Hujusmodi homines
 hæreticos designamus . . . sicut sectatores
 Marcionis, et Valentini, et Basilidis, et ii qui
 se Ethnianos appellant . sed et Apelles . . .
Pamph. pro Orig. Apol. ap. Hieron. tom. v.
p. 226.

SECT. III. *Of the Causes of Heresies.*

WE need not solicitously inquire into the causes of heresies, or the moving principle of heretics. It is well known, that heresies have been often ascribed to (q) pride, a (r) love of pre-eminence, (s) envy, revenge, (t) disappointed ambition, (u) love of sensual pleasure, a desire to be wise and knowing above others, and curiosity to search out the reason

SECT. III.

(q) Omnes tument, omnes scientiam pollicentur. Ante sunt perfecti catechumeni, quam edocti. Ipsæ mulieres hæreticæ, quam procaces! Tertullian. *De Pr. Hær. cap. xli. 111. 213. Fran.*

Quis enim hæreticorum non superbus est? Qui ecclesiasticam despiciens simplicitatem, ita habeat Ecclesiæ homines quasi bruta animalia, et in tantum superbiæ injuriæque tumore erigitur, ut contra ipsum Creatorem armat os suum. *Hieron. in Is. cap. xvi. t. 3. p. 171.*

Hæretici matrem habent iniquitatis suæ superbiæ, dum semper altiora scire se jactitant, et in Ecclesiæ contumeliam debacchantur. *Id. in Osee. cap. v. p. 1266.*

Et quia semper hæretici tumentes superbiâ, et incidentes in laqueum diaboli, magna sibi promittunt. *Id. in Amos. cap. iv. p. 1402.*

Vide hæreticos, in dialectica sibi et rhetorica, et omnium sophismatum dogmatibus applaudentes, contemnere Ecclesiæ rusticitatem, &c. *In Sophon. ib. p. 1664.*

Egenum et pauperem intellige ecclesiasticum virum, qui veritatis simplicitate contentus, hæreticorum suppellectilem, et eloquentiæ fulgorem, argumentorumque divitias, non requirit. *Id. in Amos. cap. iv. p. 1398.*

Omnes enim hæreticorum principes intumescunt superbiâ, &c. *In Amos. cap. ii. 1383.*

Quis enim hæreticorum non in superbiâ extollitur, Ecclesiæ simplicitatem parvi pendens, et fidem, imperitiam reputans. *Id. in Abd. cap. i. p. 1458. fin.*

(r) Ουτος [μοντανος] οισρηθεις ερωτι φιλαρχιας παρακλητον εαυτον προσηγχευσε. *Theod. H. F. l. 3. c. 2.*

(s) Ζηλωσας λοιπον, και εις μεγαλν αρθεις θυμον και υπερηφανιαν, το χισμα εργαζεται ο τοιουτος, εαυτω την αιρεσιν προσησαμενος, και ειπων. Εγα χισω την εκκλησιαν υμων, και βαλω χισμα εν αυτη εις τον αιωνα. *Epiph. contr. Marcion. H. 42. n. 2. D.*

(t) Huic, ut et multis aliis hæreticis, effrænis ambitio, si Tertulliano fides, ruinæ occasio fuit. *Speraverat, inquit, adv. Valentin. cap. 4. episcopatum Valentinus, quia et ingenio poterat et eloquio. Sed alium ex Martyrii prærogativa loci positum indignatus, de ecclesia authenticæ regulæ abruptit, ad expugnandam conversus veritatem. Massuet Diff. Pr. ad Iren. p. xvi.*

(u) Nulla enim hæresis, nisi propter gulam ventremque construitur, ut seducat mulierculas oneratas peccatis. *Hieron. in Jerem. cap. iv. t. 3. p. 543. fin.*

reason of all things, and to other faulty causes and principles. Which indeed may have very much contributed to the great variety of opinions, which there has been among Christians: from which those who are called Catholics, and who have been generally esteemed orthodox, have not been always free.

One cause, already hinted, of no small effect in this affair, may have been an eager curiosity to pry into, and know every thing. Too (*x*) curious inquiries into the origin of evil, seem to have misled many men. The question was difficult, and they went into several opinions, some of which were wrong and absurd. Their prejudices, and their arguments upon this head occur in (*y*) Tertullian, (*z*) Epiphanius, (*a*) Jerome, and others, as we shall see more particularly hereafter.

Lactantius, accounting for the numerous sects and divisions among Christians, mentions several causes. A (*b*) love of this

(*x*) Eadem materia apud hæreticos et philosophos volutatur, idem retractatus implicatur. Unde malum, et quare? et unde homo, et quomodo? *Tertull. Pr. cap. vii. p. 232. D. 203. Fran.*

(*y*) Languens enim (quod et nunc multi, et maxime hæretici) circa mali questionem: Unde malum? *Tertull. adv. Marc. l. i. cap. 2. p. 431. p. 351. Fran.*

(*z*) Εχει δὲ ἡ ἀρχὴ αὐτῆς τῆς κακῆς προφασίως τὴν αἰτίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ ζῆτειν, καὶ λεγὴν ποδὲν τοῦ κακοῦ. *Epiph. contr. Basilid. H. 24. n. vi. vii.*

(*a*) Dicat hæc Marcion, et omnes hæretici, qui Creatoris operibus illudunt. Vestrum decretum huc usque perveniet, ut dum singula calumniantur, manum injiciant Deo, cur solus sit Deus, cur inviderit creaturis, ut non omnes eadem polleant majestate. *Adv. Pelagian. lib. i. p. 496. m. tom. 4.*

... Detrahatur ergo illi, cur diabolum esse permiserit, cur passus sit, et hucusque patiatur quotidie aliquid in mundo mali fieri. Quærit hoc Marcion, et omnes hæreticorum canes, qui Vetus laniant Testamentum, et hujusmodi syllogismum texere consueverunt: Aut scivit Deus, hominem in paradiso positum prævaricaturum mandatum illius, aut nescivit, &c. *Id. ib. l. 3. p. 536. m.*

(*b*) Sed quoniam multæ hæreses existerunt, et instinctibus dæmonum populus Dei scissus est. . . . Ante omnia scire nos convenit, et ipsum, et legatos ejus prælixisse, quod plurimæ sectæ, et hæreses haberent existere, quæ concordiam sancti corporis rumperent, ac monuisse, ut summa prudentia caveremus Quorum plerique immemores, deserto itinere cœlesti, vias sibi devias per anfractus et præcipitia condiderunt:

this world and a desire of pre-eminence. When such men failed of attaining those advantages in the Church, which they had in view, they formed parties. Another cause, assigned by him, is unacquaintedness with the Scriptures, and the reason of things. Insomuch that meeting with difficulties, and objections against the right doctrine, which they could not answer, they embraced a less reasonable opinion. These last mentioned may be supposed to have been honest men, though weak, and of little knowledge and understanding.

SECT. IV. *Many Mistakes in the Writings of those, who have published the History of Heresies, accounted for.*

THERE are, as it seems, not a few mistakes in the ancient writers of heresies, Irenæus, Epiphanius, Philaster, and others. Many (c) learned moderns have been sensible

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runt: per quas partem plebis incautam, et simplicem, ad tenebras, mortemque deducerent. Quod quatenus acciderit, exponam. Fuerunt quidam nostrorum vel minus stabilita fide, vel minus docti, vel minus cauti . . . Sed ii, quorum fides lubrica, cum Deum nosse se, et colere simularent, augendis opibus, et honori studentes, affectabant maximum sacerdotium: et a potioribus victi secedere cum suffragatoribus suis maluerunt, quam eos ferre præpositos, quibus concupierant ipsi ante præponi. Quidam vero non satis cœlestibus literis eruditi, cum veritatis accusatoribus respondere non possent, objicientibus vel impossibile, vel incongruens esse, ut Deus in uterum se mulieris includeret: nec cœlestem illam majestatem ad

tantam infirmitatem potuisse deduci, ut hominibus contemptui, derisui, contumeliæ, et ludibrio esset: postremo etiam cruciamenta perferret, atque execrabili patibulo figeretur . . . depravati sunt ab itinere recto . . . *Lact. Instit. l. 4. cap. ult. p. 516, 518.*

(c) S. Irenée a été, si je ne me trompe, le premier auteur Chrétien, qui ait entrepris de faire connoître à l'Eglise les erreurs de tous les heretiques, qui s'étoient élevez jusqu'à son temps, et les refuter. Mais, quelqu'habile que fût ce Pere, l'entreprise étoit bien grande à cause du nombre des sectes, et de l'obscurité, dont quelques-unes affectoient d'envelopper leurs systèmes. Il falloit lire beaucoup dans un temps, ou les livres n'é-

roient

SECT. IV. fible of it. And it may be easily and fully accounted for. (*d*) It was a large and difficult undertaking, to write the history of a great number of heresies, and their authors. And the notions of some of them might be very obscure and intricate. It might be difficult to get a sight of their works, or to procure information otherwise. Irenæus himself observes, that (*e*) some good men, who before him had wrote against the Valentinians, were not fully acquainted with their doctrine, and therefore could not confute them in a right manner. Moreover wise and understanding persons are liable to prejudices. Almost all are too averse to men of different sentiments.

toient gueres communes: et lire avec une grande attention, examines bien quels étoient les vrais sentimens des sectaires, pour ne leur en pas attribuer qu'ils n'avoient point, ne pas dissimuler leurs raisons et leurs difficultez, et ne donner point legerement créance à des bruits faux ni incertains. Il falloit sur-tout se defendre contre le préjugé et la partialité, &c. *I. Beaufobre Hist. de Manich. l. 4. ch. i. ii. iii. t. 2. p. 4.*

Unum fortasse caput in hac Dissertatione [Massueti] desiderabunt lectores nonnulli, quo fides Irenæi historica sub examine revocata sit. Vulgus quidem historiæ lectorum non considerat, quanto locorum ac temporum intervallo disjunctus sit auctor aliquis ab eo de quo scripsit At prudentiores scire avent, imprimis in historia de adversariis scripta, an scriptor notitiam habuerit undiquaque certam, eamque sine affectu exposuerit. Non ignoramus, Irenæum a Tertulliano vocari *omnium doctrinarum curiosissimum exploratorem*. Sed an vera sit hæc laus, dubitare in mentem venit, postquam videmus, ipsum Massuetum longe doctius de origine Gnosticorum errorum judicare, quam Irenæum. *Heumann. Recensio Iren. opp. a*

Massuet. edit. apud Act. Lips. Mens. Apr. 1712. p. 178.

Meo quidem judicio, eum, qui omnia quæ in hæreticos dixit Irenæus, apte et solide dicta esse demonstrare vult, totam hominum illorum disciplinam conturbare, et sentiis eorundem vim afferre oportet. *I. L. Mosheim. Instit. H. E. Majores. p. 323. Vid. ib. p. 321.*

(*d*) We should not trust too much to the representations, which Christians after the apostolical age have given of the heretics of their times. Proper abatements must be made for credulity, zeal, resentment, mistake, and exaggeration. And as you descend from the middle of the second century, the descriptions of this kind grow less fair and consistent, and more partial and improbable, till, at last, very little credit is due to them. *Jortin's Discourses concerning the truth of the Chr. Rel. p. 72. 3d ed.*

(*e*) Quapropter hi qui ante nos fuerunt, et quidem multo nobis meliores, non tamen satis potuerunt contradicere his qui sunt a Valentino, quia ignorabant regulam ipsorum. *Iren. Praef. lib. 4. p. 227. 274. Grabe.*

ments. I have already made an apology (*f*) for the mistakes observed in the writings of ancient Christians. I shall still endeavour to maintain an impartial regard to all, without (*g*) aggravating the supposed errors of those, who have been defamed as heretics, or (*h*) the mistakes, oversights, inaccuracies, and misrepresentations of those who have wrote their history, or have argued against them. I likewise intend to avoid too great exactness and particularity in matters, which are either plainly absurd, or very abstruse and metaphysical, and not necessary to be generally known in these times: following (*i*) herein the example of other ecclesiastical historians of good credit. And I suppose that the history of the Manicheans formerly written, may be of some use here. Indeed one reason of indulging myself, in so copious and particular an account of this sect was, that I hoped thereby to shorten the history of the more antient heresies, and to render it more easy and intelligible to my reader.

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(*f*) See Vol. vi. p. 411. 412.

(*g*) Il est juste d' effacer des perjugez, qui viennent moins d' ignorance que d'une aversion mal entendue pour les heretiques. Clement d' Alexandrie a fort bien dit, que toutes les opinions des sectaires ne font ni Mauvaises, ni vaines et meprisables. Παμπόλλα γὰρ τῶν παρὰ ταῖς αἵρεσιν δοξαζομένων εὐροίμεν αὐ, ὅσαι μὴ τέλει ἐκκεκωφῆνται. κ. λ. Clem. Str. l. i. p. 298. B. Beausobre Hist. Manich. l. 3. ch. 9. n. v. t. i. p. 573.

(*h*) De hæreticis quibusdam agemus, qui hæc ætate prava dogmata sparsisse dicuntur. De quibus tamen, cum nullos habeamus æquales testes, nec quidquam proferre possimus ex eorum scriptis, quæ interciderunt, nec supersit nobis eorum historia, nisi in infensissimorum proxime sequentis. seculi, aut

etiam posteriorum adversariorum testimoniis, nihil ferme quasi prorsus exploratum proferre possumus. Absit tamen, ut mendacii datâ operâ conficti quemquam infimulatum velimus, e recte sentientibus Christianis! sed fieri potest, ut de iis, quibus merito infensi erant, multa facilius æquo crediderint, aut ut mentem eorum non satis adsequi uti sint, utque falsa de iis imprudentes prodiderint, non quidem mero nocendi aut mentiendi studio sed adfectu nonnullo præpediti. Quod et ex hodiernis Christianorum controversiis intelligere licet. Cleric. H. E. A. D. 76. n. i. p. 481.

(*i*) Itaque hic nimiam adhibere diligentiam puderet. Id. A. D. 121. n. viii p. 583.

SECT. V. *The Number of Heresies hath been augmented without sufficient Reason.*

SECT. V.

THE ancient heresies have been unreasonably multiplied. (k) The number in Epiphanius is eighty: that is, twenty before Christ, and sixty afterwards down to his own time. We formerly saw some reason to doubt, whether (l) there ever were such sects or heresies, as the Valesians, Angelics, and Apostolics, or even such Origenists, as Epiphanius speaks of. And if the Nicolaitans were no distinct sect, and if the Simonians, and the Cainites, the Ophites or Ophians, and the Sethians, were not by profession Christians, but unbelievers and enemies of Jesus, as some think, they ought not to be reckoned heretics. But of this more particularly hereafter. The numbers in Epiphanius might be still farther reduced by other considerations.

In Philaster are now 150. But Augustin (m) computed in him twenty-eight heresies before Christ, and 128 afterwards. Our copies of Philaster therefore seem to be defective; for we have in him no more after our Lord's coming than 122. But many of Philaster's heresies are exceeding trifling. Augustin (n) was sensible of it, and in one part of his work passeth

(k) It is very uncommon (says Du Pin) for writers of heresies to lessen their number or forget any one, but to multiply them is a common fault. *Bib. Eccle. t. 2. p. 244.* dans Philastre. He has many good remarks concerning Philaster, and the heresies in him.

(l) See Vol. iv. ch. 41. p. 461. . . 479.

(m) Vid. Augustin. *Pr. ad Quodvult deum, et libr. de Haer. cap. 41.*

(n) Hæc hæreses putavi: . . . in hoc opus meum de Philastri opere transferendas. Et alias quidem ipse commemorat, sed mihi appellandæ hæreses non videntur. *Aug. de Haer. cap. 80.*

passeth over at once (*o*) fourteen or fifteen articles in Philaster. One of the heresies in Philaster (*p*), taken too by Augustin, is, that (*q*) there are more worlds than one. Another heresy, but omitted by Augustin, is of those, who (*r*) had given names to stars, beside those named in Scripture. A common opinion of the ancient Christian writers, concerning the fall of some of the angels is with (*s*) Philaster a heresy. He has (*t*) four or five different heresies about the version of the Seventy, and other Greek translations of the Old Testament. His Rhetorians (*u*) are not a little whimsical; that article was not thoroughly approved by (*x*) Augustin. I put in the margin a (*y*) conjecture of Fabricius upon it. There was no occasion to make a distinct chapter (*z*) of such as held three modes in

(*o*) *Vid. Philast. H. 98. et Fabricii Annot. p. 188.*

Apud alios 49. Between the 76th and 77th heresies of Austin there are in Philaster 15, which Austin has omitted, as he has also seven others, which are inserted by Philaster, between those which answer to the 77th and 78th heresy of Austin.

(*p*) Alia est hæresis, quæ dicit mundos esse infinitos et innumerabiles, secundum philosophorum quorundam inanem sententiam, cum scriptura mundum unum dixerit. *Philast. II. 113. p. 233. Edid. Fabr. Her. 65. p. 34. tom. 4. La Bigne Bib. Patrum. Par. 1624.*

(*q*) *Aug. H. 77.*

(*r*) Alia est hæresis, quæ secundum Paganorum vanitatem syderum diversa nomina profertur Qui Cometas, et Pogonias, et Hyadas, et Haedos, et talia hujusmodi adferunt nomina delirantes, cum Scriptura pauca nomina syderum dixerit, dicente Job propheta . . . Qui fecit Pleiades, et Arcturum, &c. *Phil. H. 103. p. 197. H. 55. p. 27.*

(*s*) Alia est hæresis, quæ de gigantibus adferit, quod angeli miscuerint se cum feminis ante diluvium, et inde esse natos gigantes suspicatur. *H. 107. p. 108. H. 59. p. 29.*

(*t*) *Vid. H. 138 . . . 142. aliis 90—94.*

(*u*) Alii sunt . . a Rhetorio quodam, qui omnes laudabat hæreticos, dicens omnes bene sentire, et neminem errare ex iis, sed ambulare bene omnes illos, et male eos non credere sentiebat. *H. 91. aliis 43.*

(*x*) A Rhetorio quodam exortam hæresim dicit nimium mirabilis vanitatis, quæ omnes hæreticos recte ambulare, et vera dicere affirmat: quod ita est absurdum, ut mihi incredibile videatur. *Aug. H. 72.*

(*y*) Suspicio, sub Rhetorio hoc rhetorem latere Themistium, qui oratione duodecima ad Valentem, p. 159, et quinta ad Jovinianum, p. 69. docet varietate illa opinionum de rebus divinis adeo non offendi Numen, ut etiam delectetur. In eandem sententiam Symmachus apud Prudentium. ii. 772. *Fabric. ad loc. Philast.*

(*z*) Hæresis Triformem Deum faciens. *H. 93. p. 177. al. H. 45. p. 24.*

SECT.V. in the Deity, after the mention of Noetus and Sabellius. And yet Augustin (*a*) has copied that article. And there are many others altogether needless. So that the number of heresies in that writer might be greatly reduced: and indeed in Augustin likewise. Epiphanius (*b*) and Augustin (*c*) make two different articles of Montanists or Cataphrygians, and Pepuzians: but Theodoret more judiciously one (*d*) only, they being different denominations of one and the same sect or people.

It may be worth observing in this place, that the Christian writers, Justin Martyr (*e*) Hegesippus (*f*) and Epiphanius (*g*) reckon six or seven sects among the Jews; and as they do not all mention the same, but different, they make in all ten or twelve at least. Whilst Josephus, whose authority must certainly be preferred, computes (*h*) but three, or at most four Jewish sects. But on this I shall not enlarge. I only refer to the curious Dissertation of Rhenford upon the subject. (*i*)

(*a*) Aug. H. 74.

(*b*) H. 48. 49.

(*c*) H. 26. 27.

(*d*) H. Fab. l. 3. cap. 2.

(*e*) Just. Dialog. cum Tryph. p. 307. A.

(*f*) Ap. Euseb. H. E. l. 4. c. 22.

(*g*) Epiph. l. i. p. 31, &c.

(*h*) See the First Part of this Work, b. i. ch. iv. and ch. ix. and x.

(*i*) De fictis Judæorum Hæresibus.

SECT. VI. *Most Heresies of the two first Centuries may be reduced to two Kinds.*

THE greatest part of the heresies, of the two first centuries, may be reduced to two kinds. This was done by so ancient a writer as Theodoret, whose words in the preface to his five books of heresies I shall here transcribe, as giving some authority to this observation. “The (*k*) first book of Heretical Fables,” says he, “shall contain the account of those, who assert another maker of the world, and deny that there is one principle of all things, who also say that the Lord was man in appearance only. The first of these is Simon the magician, of Samaria; the last Manes, of Persia. The second book will shew those of a contrary way of thinking, who allow one principle of all things, but say our Lord was a mere man, from Ebion down to Marcellus and Photinus, though in somewhat different forms. The third book will contain others between these?” But of these there are but six, the Nicolaitans, the Montanists, Noetus, the Quartodecimans, Novatus, and Nepos; three of which, Noetus, Novatus, and Nepos, are of the third century, and the Montanists and Quartodecimans in the latter part of the second century. “In the fourth book,” he says, “he will place later heresies, that of Arius, Eunomius, and others. The fifth book is to contain a representation of the

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(*k*) Καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τῶν μυθῶν ἐκείνων τὴν διήγησιν δεῖται, ὡς οἱ πατέρες δημιουργοὺν μὲν ἀνέπλασαν ἕτερον, τὴν δὲ μίαν τῶν ὅλων ἀρνήθεντες ἀρχὴν, ἀρχὰς ἑτέρας ἢ ἡμᾶς ὑπέθεντο, δοκῶσι δὲ φανῆναι τὸν κυρίον εἰς ἀνθρώπου εἶδος . . .

τὸ δὲ δεύτερον τῆς τ' ἀνακτὸς τῆτοις ἐπιδείξει τὴν θεσηκευκότας οἱ μίαν μὲν ἀρχὴν εἶναι τῶν ὅλων συνωμοτοῦσάν, χίλον δὲ ἀνθρώπου τὸν κυρίον πρὸς ἡγορεύσαν. Ταύτης δὲ τῆς αἵρεσεως ἡξέ μὲν ἐδίων .κ.λ. *H. F. T.* iv p. 183.

SECT. 6. "true evangelical doctrine." So, that the most ancient heresies, at the beginning of the second century, are chiefly of two sorts. And what Theodoret says in the place now cited, may be compared with the account he gives in another (1) work. Tertullian (m) speaks of only two heresies in the times of the Apostles, Docetes, and Ebionites.

Some learned moderns have spoken in the like manner. So (n) Vitringa. Nor does Mr. Turner much differ (o) from this account. And says Tillemont: (p) "The church was "disturbed from the beginning with two opposite heresies, "each of which produced several sects. Of one of these Simon was the first author. Their capital doctrines are, that "there are two Gods, and two principles, the Creator, and "another above him: and that our Saviour was man in appearance only. These are called by the general names of "Gnostics and Docetes, and comprehend almost all the sects "of the first two ages. The other heresy, opposite to this, "came

(1) Σίμων, και μενανδρος, και μαρκιων, και εαλεινιος, και εασιλειδης, και εαρδεσκιης, και κερδων, και μανης, ηγηθησαν αντικεινς την ανθρωποτητα του χριστου. Αρετων δε και θεοδοτος, και σαβελλιος, και παυλος ο σαμουσατευς, και μαρκελλος, και φατεινος εις την εναντιαν εκ διαμετρως βλασφημιαν κατεπιστοι ανθρωπον γαρ μονον ηγυττασι τον χριστον, την δε προ των αιωνων υπαρχεσαν αρνηται θεοτητα. Αρειος δε και ευνομιος. κ.λ. *Dial.* 2. p. 52. c. t. iv.

(m) At in epistola eos maxime, antichristos vocat, qui Christum negarent in carne venisse, et qui non putarent Jesum esse filium Dei. Illud Marcion, hoc Ebion vindicavit. . . Hæc sunt ut arbitror, genera doctrinarum adulterinarum, quæ sub apostolis fuisse, ab ipsis apostolis discimus. *De Pr.* c. 33. 34. p. 244. *B.* p. 210, 11.

(n) Recte itaque episcopus Cestriensis

Vind. Ign. P. 2. c. i. p. 344. Duæ potissimum hæreses, ait, de natura Christi ea tempestate obtinebant. . . Quarum altera Docetarum fuit a Simonianis ortorum, humanæ naturæ veritatem in Christo despicientium, altera Ebionitarum, divinam prorsus naturam et æternam generationem negantium, legisque cæremonias urgentium. *Vitring. Obs. Sacr.* l. 5. c. 12. p. 155. 156.

(o) The primitive heretics were not by far so numerous, as has been represented. The erroneous tenets propagated by the primitive heretics are reducible to a few heads: and strictly speaking, there were not above three or four heresies, for the first two hundred years. *Calumnies upon the primitive Christians*, p. 190. 191.

(p) *Mem. Ec.* t. 2. *L'hérésie des Cerinthiens.* init.

“ came from the Jews, who embraced Christianity, but not in
 “ all its perfection. They owned one principle, and one
 “ God, and the reality of Christ’s human nature. But they
 “ believed him to be no more than a man, denied his divi-
 “ nity, and retained the ceremonies of the law with so much
 “ zeal, as to diminish the liberty and the glory of the gospel.”

Agreeable to this, two different opinions concerning the person of Christ have been before spoken of. (*q*) There is no need therefore to enlarge further on this head at present.

SECT. VII. *Heretics have been often treated with great Acrimony.*

HERETICS have been often treated with much harsh-
 ness, and great severity of expression. I have already had
 occasion (*r*) to alledge some instances of this. It is hard to
 forbear making some additions here. St. Jerome scruples not
 to say, they are worse (*s*) than heathens, the (*t*) worst of all
 men: and if they are free from all reproach in their lives, yet
 (*u*) they have only the shadow and appearance of virtue, not
 the truth. Cyril of Jerusalem says of the Montanists, that
 D 2 they

SECT. 7.

(*q*) See Vol. 6. p. 414-417.

(*r*) See Vol. 6. p. 53. 54. and 105. 106.

(*s*) Multo quippe pejori conditione sunt hæretici quam gentiles. *Hier. in Matt. cap. xiii. t. iv. p. 51. f.*

— et impietatem superant Ethnicorum. . . Nullus enim ecclesiasticorum tantum habet studii in bono, quantum hæretici in malo: et in eo se lucrum putant consequi, si alios decipiant, et ipsi perditos ceteros perdant. *In Is. cap. xviii. p. 180. m. t. 3.*

(*t*) Hoc significat, quod impietate sua omnes vincant hæretici. Verbi gratia: Dicit Epicurus, non esse providentiam, et voluntatem maximum bonum. Comparatione hujus sceleratior Marcion, et omnes hæretici, qui vetus lacerant testamentum. *In Is. cap. xviii. p. 179. f.*

(*u*) Porro hæretici imaginem tantum habentes umbramque virtutum, et non ipsam veritatem, absque fructu operum, verborum folia pollicentur. *In Is. cap. v. p. 50. m.*

SECT. 7. (x) they are called Christians, but falsely. Epiphanius's Introduction to his Account of Ebionitism must be allowed to be a remarkable instance of harshness, not to say railing. It is, (y) with him, a many-headed monster, and has in it at once the profaneness and impurity of the Samaritans, the name of Jews, the errors of the Nazarens and Cerinthians, and the wickedness of the Carpocratians, with the denomination of Christians. And he (z) is in doubt whether he should not consider Arianism as infidelity: but corrects himself, and adds, or rather wrong faith. Which surely is rightest. Passion may suggest the former: but reason will plead for the latter.

Indeed there are many considerations, that may lead men to moderation one toward another, upon occasion of different sentiments, especially in matters, which have in them some abstruseness and difficulty. One consideration, of no small moment, is, that we are in danger of the same treatment, which we give to others. It was formerly observed, that (a) Methodius bore hard upon Origen: but he himself has since been suspected of divers errors. Philaster, who wrote a long treatise of heresies, and condemns some of them with severity, has not been thought orthodox by all, but has fallen under the charge or suspicion of heresy. He (b) speaks of man's free-will in terms, that would be disliked by many of late times. Moreover he thought the soul (c) to be created before the body. And as he has no article of Origenists, or followers of Origen, he is supposed to have favoured that great man in some

(x) Ψευδώς μὲν, σμωνυμῶς δὲ καλεῖσθαι χριστιανούς. *Cat.* 16. n. 8.

(y) . . . πολυμορφὸν τεράστιον . . . πολυκεφαλὴ υἱόρας . . . Σανταρείτων μὲν γὰρ ἔχει τὸ ἑδελύρον, Ἰσθαίων δὲ τὸ ὄνομα. . . Ναζωραίων τὴν γνῶμην, Κηρινθίων τὸ εἶδος, Καρποκρατιανῶν τὴν κακοτροπίαν, καὶ Χριστιανῶν ὁμολογεῖται ἔχειν τὴν προσηγορίαν. *H.* 30. n. 1.

(z) — Ως εἶθι καὶ ἡ τῆ ἀρετῆς ἐμπεδωμένη πίστις μάλλον δὲ ἀπιστία. ἐστὶ δὲ μάλλον κακοπιστία. *H.* 69. n. ii. *fin.*

(a) See *Vol.* v. 255. 256.

(b) Quia arbitrii sui est omnis homo, quod velit ut eligat facere, permittente Deo. *H.* 26. p. 49. p. 7. E. Par. 1624.

(c) *Vid.* *H.* 97. p. 26. *Ibid.*

some of his peculiarities. The Millennium, which has been a favourite doctrine of some ages, and has had the patronage of the learned, as well as the vulgar, among Christians; at other times, and by other writers has been exploded and ridiculed. And notwithstanding the allowed piety of some of its patrons, it is placed by Philaster among his (*d*) heresies. This is certain, that as bad things were said of the primitive Christians, by Jews and Heathens, as ever were said of the ancient heretics, by Catholics. Modern reformers have been treated just in the same manner. And no wonder, since there have in every age been men so strongly attached to their present interest, as to value the emoluments connected with old establishments, however erroneous, more than truth. Such men will always represent every attempt towards a reformation, as proceeding from wicked and impious dispositions, and will cry down the promoters of it, as heretics, and as men of the most abandoned and profligate principles.

This must be the case, whenever men think themselves privileged to neglect the rules of candour and moderation, in the judgment they form concerning each other. For though truth is one and unchangeable, orthodoxy and heresy are as variable, as the opinions of fallible and inconstant, of prejudiced and ignorant men.

(*d*) *H.* 59. *p.* 119. *p.* 15. *C.* Par. 1624.

SECT. VIII. *Heretics have been greatly calumniated.*

SECT. 8. **S**OME seem to have reckoned, that they had a right to say the worst things of heretics, which they could. And others have thought themselves obliged to believe all the evil, that has been reported of them. I have already, at several times, had occasion to confute some grievous charges, against such as were called heretics, particularly the impure (*e*) Origenists, if ever there was such a sect, and (*f*) the Manicheans. Some other things are now to be taken notice of, relating to more ancient heretics, who appeared near the end of the first, or in the former part of the second century.

One thing laid to the charge of many of those heretics is magic.

Marcus or Marc, from whom the Marcosians were denominated, is often (*g*) called a magician and impostor. Irenæus says, the (*h*) Basilidians had invocations, enchantments, and all kinds of curious and magical practices. And according to Epiphanius, Basilides (*i*) would never be persuaded to leave off magical arts. In like manner Irenæus also speaks of the (*k*) Carpocratians. And Eusebius says, of these last, (*l*) as upon

(*e*) See Vol. iv. p. 476, 477.

(*f*) Vol. vi. p. 97-107.

(*g*) . . μαγικῆς ὑπαρχῶν κυβείας ἐμπειρο-
τατες. Iren. l. i. c. xiii. n. i. c. viii. p. 56.
Grab. & c. ix. p. 56, 59. Gr.

(*h*) Utuntur autem et hi magia—et incantationibus et invocationibus, et reliqua universa periergia. L. i. cap. xxiv. n. v. c. xxiii. p. 98. Gr.

(*i*) οὐ μὴν δὲ ἀλλὰ καὶ μαγικαῖς μηχαναῖς προσανέχων ἔτι ἐπαύσατο, καὶ περιεργίαις ὁ ἀπατεῶν. H. 24. n. ii. p. 69. D.

(*k*) Artes enim Magicas operantur et ipsi, et incantationes, philtro quoque et charitefia, et paredros, et oniropompos, et reliquas malignationes. Ib. c. xxv. n. iii. c. xxiv. 100.

(*l*) Γράφει δὲ καὶ εἰρηναῖος συγχέονταί τε

upon the authority of Irenæus, that they practised magic not secretly, but openly, more openly than Simon himself. SECT. 8.

Nevertheless some learned moderns have doubted of this, and have made a question, Whether it was any more than a popular charge against men, who studied mathematics, and particularly astronomy. In this manner thought so grave a writer as (*m*) Vitringa.

I may hereafter examine the charge against Marc: As Beaufobre has considered this matter very particularly, so far as relates to the Basilidians, I shall represent his thoughts here as concisely as I can.

As (*n*) for the charge of magic, it appears to be very doubtful. For, first, it is really attested by Irenæus only, his work being the source, from which all others have borrowed. Secondly, Tertullian, his most ancient copyist, says nothing of it: Thirdly, Clement of Alexandria too is silent here, as also Origen, though he omits no opportunity to reprehend Basilides, Valentin, and Marcion. Fourthly, the ancient fathers perpetually confound astronomy and astrology with magic. Mathematician and magician are with them the same things. All this is sufficient to render the magic of these men doubtful. Nevertheless I do not absolutely deny that the Basilidians had some superstitious practices among them, which are a natural consequence of supposing the stars to be animated, and

τοὺς ἀστρονομικοὺς ἐργασίας ἀνέστειλες τῆς τῶν γινωσκόντων
ἐπικληθείσης πατρὸς· οἱ καὶ τὴ σιμωνίου ὡς
ἐκεῖνος κρύβδην, ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ εἰς φανερόν τας μα-
γείας παραδίδοναι ἤξευον. *Eus. H. E. l. iv.*
c. vii. p. 120.

(*m*) Veteres enim omnes fere Pythagoricæ et Platonici Philosophiæ illustriores doctores de Magia suspectos habuerunt: tum quod mystice fere omnia, et per numeros et formulas, quasi arcana quædam et secretior

vis in iis recondita esset, tradiderint: tum quod vere illi apud suos auditores hanc suscitarent et foverint credulitatem, quasi secretius sibi cum diis commercium esset. . . . Nec alio pertinet, quod Irenæus Menandrum, Marcum aliosque Gnosticæ disciplinæ auctores passim fœdi Magiæ criminis infumat. *Vitring. Observ. Sacr. l. v. cap. xii. n. ix. p. 160.*

(*n*) *Hist. de Manich. t. 2. p. 46. 47.*

SECT. 8. and that the spirits which reside in them, and conduct them, do govern also this lower world; with an exception however to the wills of men, which the philosophers never subjected to the power of the stars. I say, I do not positively deny, that they had some such superstitions. And yet I would not be understood to affirm it.

These are superstitions, which have indeed some resemblance to magic: but yet cannot be so termed without manifest injustice. When men make use of rites or ceremonies, which are in themselves criminal, or when they propose to obtain the assistance of demons, this is magic. Magicians, says (o) Clement of Alexandria, boast, that they have demons to assist them, and that by some certain enchantments they can compel them to serve them. This is what makes a magician. . . . But the followers of Basilides did no less detest demons, than other Christians did: and possibly made use of no other preservative against them, than baptism, faith, and the name of Jesus. The Valentinians at least, with whom these had a great agreement, were of opinion, that baptism in the name of Jesus was sufficient to deliver a Christian from subjection to the stars and demons, and to enable him (p) to tread on scorpions and adders, that is, all malignant powers.

More follows there, to the like purpose: to which the reader is referred. And this last mentioned observation may clear others, particularly Saturninus, who in Theodoret is the third after Simon, and taught, that (q) whereas evil demons assist bad men, Christ came to succour good men against such demons.

Another

(o) Μαγοὶ δὲ ἡδὴ ἀσεβείας τῆς σφῶν αὐτῶν ὑπηρέτας δαίμονας αὐχρῶσιν, οἰκίας αὐτῶν εἰσὶ τοὺς καταγράφαντες, τῆς κατηναγκασμένης ὁδῆς ταῖς ἐπασιδαῖς πεποιηκότες. *Clem. A. Adm. ad. Gent.* p. 39. C.

(p) *Vid. Eclog. Theod. § 74. et seq. apud Clem. Alexan. Ed. Par. 1641. page 800, 1.*

(q) Τῶν δὲ πονηρῶν δαίμονων τοὺς πονηροὺς συμπράττοντων, ἦλθε, φησὶν, ὁ σωτὴρ ἐπαμύνασθαι τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς. *H. Fab. l. i. c. iii.*

Another thing often laid to the charge of heretics is lewdness, and all manner of wickedness, and likewise teaching it. So says Theodoret, in the preface to his work of Heretical Fables. He seems to represent this as general among them, though perhaps not as universal. The (*r*) lewdness both taught and practised by them, according to him, was such, that even stage-players were too modest to describe it, or to hear it described: and he asserts, that they had exceeded and gone beyond the greatest proficient in wickedness.

But surely this must be exaggeration. It is improbable, that these men should have exceeded all others in vice. Neither can it be to the honour of Christians, or their religion, to multiply sects and divisions among them, or to aggravate and magnify their faults. In all bodies of men, which are numerous, there will be some lewd and profligate persons; but that whole sects and parties should practice and teach wickedness, is very unlikely, and ought to be well attested, before it is believed.

Eusebius says of the Carpocratians (*f*), that they gave occasion to the Gentiles to reproach the gospel, and to form a disadvantageous opinion of all Christians, as if they had been generally such as *they* were: and that to them it was chiefly owing, that Christians were charged with promiscuous lewdness, and other crimes in their assemblies. Irenæus has somewhat of this kind, but not so full and strong. He says, that

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these

(*r*) Την δε και νενομοθετημενην παρ' αυτων και πραττομενην λαγνεϊαν, ηδε των εν σκηνη τις τεθραμμενων ανασχοις αν η φρασαι, η λεγοντων αλλων ακησαι· τοσσητον απολειπει και της επισημης της ασελγειας εξελατας. *H. Fab. in Pr. t. 4. p. 188.*

(*f*) Τοις δε απιστοις εθνεσι πολλην παρεχειν κατα τε διου λογη δυσφημιας περιεσιαι· της εξ

αυτων φημης εις την τε παντος χριστιανων εθνους διαβολην καταχεομενης. Ταυτη δ' εν επιπλεισιν συνεβαινε την περι ημων παρκα τοις τοτε απιστοις υπονοιαν δυσσεβη και αποπρωλην διαδιδουσαι· ως δη αθεμιτοις προς μητερας και αδελφας μιξεσιν, ανοσιας τε τροφαις χρωμενων. *Eus. L. IV. cap. vii. p. 120. D.*

SECT. 8.

(*t*) these men seem to have been formed by Satan, on purpose that we might be slandered: but he does not positively say, that other Christians had been reproached upon their account, or that for their sake the common stories about Christian assemblies had been credited.

Here then are two things: First, the wickedness of the ancient heretics, particularly the Carpocratians: Secondly, that their excesses were the occasion of the disrepute, which other Christians, their assemblies especially, lay under.

It is this second particular, that I propose to consider at present. And shall hereafter, in the history of the several heretics, who are accused of so much extravagance, have an article concerning their manners and moral principles: saying nothing more relative to that point at this time, than may be needful for clearing the present question.

I. Then I observe, there is no small agreement between the charges brought against the first Christians (*u*) in the beginning of the second century, and the charges against the Heretics in later authors: which may create a suspicion, that these last were formed upon the model of the former, and consequently are without ground. What the crimes were, which were laid to the charge of the primitive Christians, we know from divers writers, Greek and Latin. I shall put in the margin

(*t*) Qui et ipsi ad detractiōem divini ecclesiæ nominis, quemadmodum et gentes, a Satana præmissi sunt, ubi secundum alium et alium modum, quæ sunt illorum audientes homines, et putantes omnes nos tales esse, averrant aures suas a præconio veritatis: aut et [f. ut] videntes quæ sunt illorum, omnes nos blasphemant, in nullo eis communicantes, neque in doctrina, neque in moribus, neque in quotidiana conversatione. *Iran. lib. i. c. xxv. n. iii. al. c. xxiv. p. 100. Gr.*

(*u*) Quæ nocturnis congregationibus, et jejuniis, solemnibus, et inhumanis cibis. *Min. Fel. cap. viii. p. 72. Lug. 1672.*

Occultis se nobis et insignibus noscunt, et amant mutuo pæne antequam noverint: passim etiam inter eos quædam libidinum religio miscetur: ac se promiscue appellant fratres et sorores, ut etiam non insolens stuprum intercessione sacri nominis fiat incestum. *Ib. cap. ix p. 81, 2. Lug. 1672.*

margin passages of (x) Justin Martyr, (y) Athenagoras, (z) Theophilus of Antioch, (a) Minucius Felix, and (b) Tertullian: from whom it appears, that, beside atheism, or impiety towards the established deities, they were charged with having their wives in common, with promiscuous lewdness in their assemblies, with incest, and eating human flesh, especially young children, whom they first killed, and then eat at their nocturnal meetings, where persons of each sex, and every age, were present.

II. These scandalous reflexions were cast upon the Christians before the appearance of the Carpocratians, who were not known till the time of Adrian. Mr. Turner says, these (c) ca-

E 2

lumnies

(x) Εἰ δὲ καὶ τὰ δυσφῆμα ἐκείνα μυθολογεῖται ἔργα πρᾶτθαι, λυχίας μὲν ἀνατροπῇ, καὶ τὰς ἀναιδῶν μιξεις, καὶ ἀνθρώπων σαρκῶν βόρας, ὃ γινώσκουμεν. *J. M. Ap. ii. p. 70. B. C.*

. . . μὴ καὶ ὑμεῖς πεπιγευκαὶ περὶ ἡμῶν, οὐ δὲ ἐσθίομεν ἀνθρώπους, καὶ μετὰ τὴν εἰλαπίνην ἀποσφεννυντες τῆς λυχίας ἀθεσμοῖς μιξεῖσιν ἐγκυλιόμεθα; *Dialog. Tr. p. 227 B.*

(y) Τρία ἐπιφημιζοσιν ἡμῖν ἐγκλημάτια, ἀθεοφῆτα, θυεστία δεῖπνα, οἰδοποδεῖες μιξεις. *Athen. Leg. p. 4. c. Ed. Par. No. iv. p. 15, 16. Ox. 1706.*

Ἐτι δὲ, καὶ τροφᾶς καὶ μιξεις λογοποιοῦσιν ἀθεῖς καθ' ἡμῶν, ἵνα τε μισεῖν νομιζοῖεν μετὰ λόγῳ. *Ib. p. 34. d. No. xxvii. p. 123. Ox.*

(z) Φασκοῦντων, ὡς κοινὰς ἀπαντῶν ἑσας γυναικάς ἡμῶν, καὶ δαιφροῶ μιξει, ξινοῖας, ἐτι μὴ καὶ ταῖς ἰδίαις ἀδελφαῖς, συμμιγνύσθαι, καὶ το ἀθεωτάτοι καὶ ὠμολάτοι πάσων σαρκῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐφαπτεσθαι ἡμᾶς. *Theoph. ad Aut. l. iii. p. 119. B.*

(a) Jam de initiandis tirunculis fabula tam detestanda, quam nota est. Infans farre contextus, ut decipiat incautos, apponitur ei qui sacris imbuatur. Is infans a tirunculo, farris superficie quasi ad innoxios ictus provocato, cæcis occultisque vulneribus

occiditur. Hujus, proh nefas, sitienter sanguinem lambunt: hujus certatim membra disperiunt. Et de convivio notum est. Passim omnes loquuntur. Ad epulas solemnibus die coeunt, cum omnibus liberis, fororibus matribus, sexus omnis homines, et omnis ætatis. Illic post multas epulas, ubi convivium caluit, et incestæ libidinis fervor ebrietate exarsit, canis qui candelabro nexus est, jactu ossilæ . . . ad impetum et saltum provocatur. Sic everso et extincto conscio lumine, impudentibus tenebris nexus infandæ cupiditatis involvunt perincertum fortis. Et si non omnes opera, conscientia tamen pariter incesti; quoniam voto universorum appetitur, quicquid accidere potest in actu singulorum. *Min. Fel. cap. ix. p. 86—90.*

(b) Dicimur sceleratissimi, de sacramento infanticidii, et pabulo inde, et post convivium incesto: quod everfores luminum canes, lenones scilicet, tenebrarum et libidinum impiarum inverecundiam procurent. *Tertul. Ap. cap. vii. in. p. 8—24.*

(c) The calumnies upon the primitive Christians accounted for, p. 2. *London, 1727.*

SECT. 8. lumnies seem to have begun with Christianity itself. There are proofs of their being very early. Tacitus, speaking of the Christians in the time of Nero, says, they (*d*) were generally hated for their wickedness; that is, they lay under a bad character with the people. And, as Mr. Turner observes (*e*), Melito of Sardis (*f*) an apologist for the Christian religion about the year 170, lays the foundation of these lying accusations in the reigns of Nero and Domitian. I shall transcribe largely at the bottom of the page (*g*) a passage of Mr. Turner upon this subject. For certain these accusations were in being, and prevailed before Justin became a Christian. For he assures us (*b*), that in the time of his heathenism he thought it impossible, that the Christians should suffer with such constancy and resolution as they did, if they had been men-eaters, and had been addicted to lewdness.

III. Not-

(*d*) Quos, per flagitia invisos, vulgus Christianos appellabat. . . Repressaque in præfens exitiabilis superstitio rursus erumpebat. *Tacit. Ann. l. xv. c. xlv. Amst. Ediz. 1762. p. 1059, 60.*

(*e*) *Ib. p. 4.*

(*f*) . . . τον καθ' ημας εν διαβολη καλῶσθαι λεγον ηβελησαν Νερων και Δομιτιανῶν· ἀφ' ων και το της συκοφαντίας αλοῦσιν συνθησια περὶ της τοιούτης ῥηναι συμβεβηκε ψευδῶ. *Ap. Euseb. l. iv. c. xxvi. p. 148. B.*

(*g*) I can by no means allow, that the lewdness of Carpocrates, Epiphanes, and their followers, gave the first occasion for accusing the Christians of promiscuous and incestuous lust. For it is generally agreed, that Carpocrates began to be a heretic in Adrian's reign, about the same time that Justin become a convert to Christianity, A.D. 130. And therefore the imputation of lewdness and incest was prior to Carpocrates. For Justin, whose authority is un-

deniably good, acquaints us, that the Christians were accused of abominable uncleanness, before he was a convert. Nay he dates the three original calumnies of incest, infanticide, and atheism, from our Lord's Ascension, or very soon after. If Carpocrates had given the first handle for aspersing Christians, how could Justin be ignorant of it, who lived at the same time? And especially, since he wrote a confutation of all heretics; and therefore must be presumed to be tolerably acquainted with their errors and immoralities. *As before, p. 31, 32. See him again, p. 51, 52.*

(*b*) Και γαρ αὐτῶ ἐγὼ τοῖς πλάττωσιν· χαίρων διδασκασί, διαβαλλομένους ἀκῶων χρεῖαντες, ὁρῶν δὲ ἀφοβῶς πρὸς θάνατον καὶ πάντα τὰ ἀλλὰ νομιζόμενα φοβερά, ἐνενοῦν, ἀδύνατον εἶναι ἐν κακίᾳ καὶ φιληδονίᾳ υπαρχεῖν αὐτοῖς· τίς γὰρ φιληδονῶν, ἢ ἀκρατοῦς, καὶ ἀνθρώπων σαρκῶν βόραν ἀσάθου ἡγεμενῶ, δύναίτο ἀν' θάνατον ἀσπαζέσθαι. . . *Ap. ii. p. 50. A. B.*

III. Notwithstanding Eusebius (*i*) mentions the Carpocratians, as the heretics on whose account the primitive Christians were slandered, yet the antient writers are not all agreed in this point. Epiphanius (*k*) indeed joins with Eusebius in saying, that the Carpocratians were principally the cause of this. But Cyril (*l*), the deacon, lays it on the Montanists. And Touttee (*m*) on the Ophians or Ophites, and quotes Origen for it: who indeed says, in more places than one (*n*), that Celsus objected against the Christians, their holding several absurd and impious tenets, peculiar to the Ophians, called otherwise Cainites. But these, he adds (*o*), were no Christians. For they hated Jesus no less than Celsus himself himself did; and admitted no one into their society, unless he would abjure him. But I shall speak of this hereafter under the chapter assigned to them.

IV. Justin Martyr, in his second Apology, expressly says, that (*p*) he did not know, Whether those scandalous things, which

(*i*) Τοις δὲ ἀπίστοις ἔθνεσι πολλὴν παρέχεν κατὰ τὴν θεῶν λόγῳ δυσφημίας περιουσίαν. τῆς ἐξ αὐτῶν φήμης εἰς τὴν τῶ παλῶν Χριστιανῶν ἔθνους διάδοχον καὶ ἀναχέουμένης. *Euf. Hist. Ecc. L. iv. c. vii. p. 120. D.*

(*k*) Εἰσι δὲ ἐκ τῆ Σαλανα παρασκευασμένοι καὶ προεβόλημένοι εἰς οὐκ εὖ καὶ σκανδαλόν, τῆς τῶ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας. ἐπεθεῖτο γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐπικλην Χριστιανοὶ πρὸς τὸ σκανδαλισθῆναι τὴν τῆς ἀγίας τῶ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας ὠφελίαν. κ. τ. λ. *Epi. Hær. xxvii. n. iii. p. 104. B. C.*

(*l*) Διὸ μέχρις ὧν ἐν τῷ διωγμῷ, τὸ τοιοῦτον ὑποπτευομένη. διὰ τὸ κακίαν τῆς μορφῆς, ψευδῶς μὲν, ὁμολογῶντες δὲ κλεισθῆναι Χριστιανούς. *Cat. xvi. n. viii. p. 247.*

(*m*) Id deducus contra Ophitas fuggefit Origines. *Touttee, x.*

(*n*) Δοκεῖ δὲ μοι ὁ Κέλσος εἰσάγειν τινὰς αἰρεσεις μὴδὲ τῶ ὀνομαζομένου τῷ Ἰησοῦ κοινωνῆς ἡμῖν. ταχὺ γὰρ περιηχέοι περὶ τῶν καλῶν ὀφειανῶν καὶ τῶν Καϊανῶν, καὶ εἰ τις ἄλλη τοιαύτη ἐξ ὧν

ἀποφοίτησεν τὸ Ἰησοῦ συνέστη γνώμη. πολλὴν ἔθεν τὸ πρὸς τὸ ἐγκλητὸν εἶναι τὸν Χριστιανῶν λόγον. *Contra Celsum. l. iii. p. 119. l. xx. Ed. Spenceri.*

Δοκεῖ δὲ μοι καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐκπαρεκκλισμάτων ἀσημολογῆτος αἰρέσεως ὀφειανῶν οἰμαὶ ἐκτεθεῖσθαι τὰ τῶ διαγράμματι ἀπο μέρους. κ. τ. λ. *Ibid. l. vi. p. 291. l. xlv.*

Τὶ ἐν εἴῃ ἀνὴρ ἡλιθιώτερον ἢ μανικώτερον, ἢ μόνον τῶν ἀπὸ τῶ ὀφειῶς. . . ἀλλὰ καὶ Κέλσος νομισαίης κατὰ Χριστιανῶν εἶναι κατηγορίας τὰς κατὰ τῶν ὀφειανῶν. *Ibid. l. vi. p. 294.*

(*o*) Καὶ ὀφειανοὶ διὰ τὸ καλῶν τοιοῦτον ἀποδοῦναι τῶ εἶναι Χριστιανοί, ὥστε ἢ ἐλάττω Κέλσος κατηγορεῖν αὐτοὺς τῷ Ἰησοῦ, καὶ μὴ πρὸς τὸν πιστεύοντα εἶναι τινὰ ἐπὶ τὸ συνέδριον αὐτῶν, εἰ μὴ ἀρεῶς δητῆται κατὰ τῷ Ἰησοῦ. *Ibid. l. vi. p. 294.*

(*p*) Εἰ δὲ καὶ τὰ δυσφύματα ἐκεῖνα μυθελογημένα ἔργα πράττει, λυχνίας μὲν ἀνατροπὴν, καὶ τὰς ἀναιδῆς μιξεις, καὶ ἀνθρώπων σαρκῶν βόρας, ἢ γινώσκωμεν. *J. M. Ap. ii. p. 70. B. C.*

which were commonly laid to the charge of the true Christians, were done by the heretics or not. That Apology was written, as some think, in the year 145, or about 140, at the soonest. The Valentinians, Carpocratians, and other heretics, were in being before that time. And Justin had wrote against all heretics in general. And yet he freely owns, he did not know them to be guilty of the crimes, so much talked of at that time.

V. The most antient Christian Apologists, do generally ascribe the calumnies then cast upon the Christians to other causes, and not to the wickedness of any among them, called heretics. Justin Martyr, as was formerly observed (*q*), says, that their accusers themselves scarcely believed the charges brought against them, and (*r*) where these had in some measure been credited, it arose from the wickedness of the heathens, which disposed them to believe such things of other people, as they practised themselves. Tatian (*s*) and Theophilus of Antioch (*t*), speak of these calumnies, without making heretics the occasion of them. Athenagoras plainly says (*u*) that the general wickedness of the heathen people, was the ground of their charging such base practises upon the Christians,

(*q*) *Dial. Cum Try.* p. 227. *Vid. supra* note (*x*), p. 27.

(*r*) *Ap.* ii. p. 70, B. C. 71. *A. Vid. Credibility*, P. II. v. ii. p. 722, notes (*d*) (*e*).

(*s*) Παρ ημιν εκ ειν ανθρωποφαγια, ψευδομαρτυρες οι επιτηδευσμενοι γεροντες. *Oratio ad Græcos*. No. 42. p. 90. *Ed. Worth. Ox.* 1700, p. 162. *D. Par.* 1636. *Cred. P. II.* v. ii. p. 722, note (*f*).

(*t*) *Ad Au. lib.* iii. p. 119. B. C. *Vid. supra* note (*x*) p. 27. *et Ad. Aut. lib.* iii. p. 126. *D.* 127. *A. Vid. Cred. P. II.* v. ii. p. 722. Note (*g*).

(*u*) *Legat.* p. 4. C. & p. 34. *D. ad. fin.* *Vid. supra*, Note (*y*), p. 27. Ει δε λογοποιαι ταυτα και διαβολαι κειται (φυσικω λογω παρ την αρετην της κακιας αντικειμενης, και πολεμικων αλληλοις των εναυλων δειω νομω) και τε μηδεν τελων αδικειν υμεις μαρτυρες. *Ibid.* p. 4. *D.* p. 16, 17. *Ox.*

Αλλα οι τοιςτοι (ω τι αν ειποιμι τα απορητα) ακρομεν τα της παροικιας, η πορη την σωφρονα . . . ετοι δε ασυνισατιν αυτοις, και της σφετερης λεγουσιν δις; . . . ταυτα ημας λαιδορηνται· κακιζοντες οι μοιχοι και παιδερασαι της ευναχης και μονογαμης. κ. τ. λ. *Ibid.* p. 37. C. D. No. 29. p. 131, 2. *Ox.*

Christians, who were exemplarily virtuous. And exactly in SECT. 8. the same manner speaks the pretended Sibyl (*x*). Irenæus likewise, in a place before cited, hints (*y*) at this cause, as does also Minutius Felix (*z*), and Tertullian (*a*). Sometimes Justin Martyr says (*c*), that the Jews had raised and spread these vile reports concerning the first Christians. And Tertullian speaks (*c*) to the like purpose. Origen (*d*), in a still stronger manner, brings home this charge to the Jews. Heraldus long ago observed (*e*), that the antient apologists who confuted these calumnies, did not charge the heretics with the like crimes.

VI. It

(*x*) Ολβιοι ανθρωπων κεινοι κατὰ γαίαν εστοίλαι,
Οσσοι δὴ τεξεύσι Θεον μέλαν ευλοφούντες
Πρην πικρὸν φάγειν τε πεποιθότες ευσεβίσιν·
· · · · ·
Ὡν τροπον ευσεβίσιν τε, καὶ ἡθεα ανερες αλλοι
Ουπολε μμησοίλαι, αναίδειν πεθεοντες
Αλλ, αυτες χλευη τε γελωτιτε μυχιθίζοντες,
Νηπιοι αφροσυνησιν επιψευσοίλαι εκεινοις,
Οσο' αυτοι ρεξουσιν, αλασθαλα καὶ κακα ερῶ.
Lib. iv. p. 287. Paris 1599. v. i. p. 142. Orthodoxogr. Basil 1569.

(*y*) Qui et ipsi ad detractiōnem divini ecclesiæ nominis quemadmodum et gentes a Satana præmissi sunt. *Vid. sup. p. 26. Note (t).*

(*z*) Hæc enim potius de vestris gentibus nata sunt. *Min. Fel. c. xxxi. in p. 303.*

(*a*) Hæc quo magis refutaverim a vobis fieri ostendam partim in aperto, et partim in occulto. Per quod forsitan et de nobis credistis. *Ap. c. ix. in.*

(*b*) . . . Αλλα ανδρας εκλεκτους απο Ιερουσαλημ εκλεξαμενοι τοτε, εξεπεμψατε εις πασαν την γην, λειοντες αιρεσιν αθεον Χριστιανων πεφηνειναι καταλειπόντες ταύτα απερχομενοι οι αγνοουντες ημας παντες λειψουσιν. *Dial. cum Try. p. 234. E. . . . Κατειπούντες δειδασχεναι και ταύτα απερχομενοι των ομολογητων Χριστων*

παντι γινει ανθρωπων αθεα, και ανομα, και ανυσια λειψετε. *Ib. p. 335. C. D.*

(*c*) Et credidit vulgus Judæo. Quod enim aliud genus seminarium est infamiæ nostræ. *Ad. Nat. L. i. p. 59. D.*

(*d*) Και δοκει μοι παραπλησιον Ιουδαιοις επιποιεσθαι, τοις κατὰ την αρχην τη Χριστιανισμω διδασκαλιας κατασκευασασι δυσφημιαν τη λοβη, ως αρα καταθυσαντες παιδιον μελαμδανσαι αυτα των σαρκων. και παλιν, οτι οι απο τη λογε, τα τη σκοτεινω περιεττειν βελομενοι, σβεννυσσι μεν το φως, εκασθαι δε τη παραλυχηση μιγνυλται. *Con. Celsum. L. vi. c. xxvii. p. 651. Bened. p. 293. Spem.*

(*e*) Calumnia ista (*de iniuriis tirunculis*) omnibus Christianorum apologiis confutata. Nec inventus quisquam est, qui ejus immanitatis sectam ullam hæreticorum vel lenissima suspiciōne asperferit; ut existimem quæ de Gnosticis et Quintilianis Epiphanius et alii nonnulli postea tradiderunt, ea omnia falsa esse, et in odium sectarum illarum ab hominibus perverse religiosi conficta. Num enim id tacuissent Apologeticorum scriptores? Num tanta confidentia horrendam illam calumniam, tanquam commentum vere diabolicum confutassent? . . . Quæ igitur posterioribus seculis de hæreticis tradita sunt ejusmodi,

VI. It appears from Tertullian (*f*), that in his time it was not known, that any among Christians were guilty of such crimes, as were imputed to them by their adversaries. The only ground of these charges, according to him, was common fame, and uncertain report (*g*), without any proof. Whereas if such things had been done by any assuming the name of Christians, and known to have been done by them; his plea would have been, that though indeed there were instances of such abominable practises among heretics, yet there was no instance of any thing of the kind among genuine Christians. Since, therefore, he absolutely denies the charge, without any such distinction, it is plain, he knew of no heretics, who were guilty of such abominations. Theophilus of Antioch likewise says (*h*), that these reproaches had no other support than common fame. Nor was it known to the Martyrs of Jesus (*i*), that

ejusmodi, ea non dubitamus falsa esse. *Her-aldus ad Minutium*, c. ix. p. 86. *Lud. Bat.* 1672.

(*f*) Dicimur sceleratissimi de Sacramento infanticidii et pabulo inde et post convivium incesto; quod eversores luminum canes, leones scilicet, tenebrarum et libidinum impiarum invercundiam procurent. Dicimur tamen semper, nec vos quod tamdiu dicimur eruere curatis. *Apol. c. vii. p. 8.*

Bene autem quod omnia tempus revelat, testibus etiam vestris proverbiiis atque sententiis, ex dispositione naturæ quæ ita ordinavit ut nihil diu lateat, etiam quod fama non distulit. Merito igitur fama tam diu sola conscia est scelerum Christianorum. Hanc indicem adversus nos profertis, quæ, quod aliquando jactavit, tantoque spatio in opinionem corroboravit, usque adhuc probare non valuit. *Ibid. p. 9. Initio.*

(*g*) Ideo et credunt de nobis quæ non probantur, et nolunt inquiri ne probentur non esse. *Ibid. c. ii. p. 4. B.*

Quid aliud negotium patitur Christianus, nisi suæ sectæ? quam incestam quam crudelem tanto tempore, Nemoprobat. *Ad. Scap. c. iv. p. 87. Fin.*

(*h*) Καὶ φημι πεθεσθαι τομάτων αθεῶν ψευδὲς συνοφαι-τεντων ἡμᾶς . . . φασκοντων ὡς κοινὰς ἀπαλίων ἔσας τὰς γυναῖ-κας ἡμῶν, καὶ διαφθορὰ μίξει ζυγοντας, ἐπὶ μὴν καὶ ταῖς ἰδίαις ἀδελφαῖς συμμιγνυσθαι, καὶ τὸ ἀθεῶτατον καὶ ὁμο-τάτον πάντων, σαρκῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐφαπτεσθαι ἡμᾶς. *Ad. Aut. l. iii. p. 119. B. p. 382. Bened.*

(*i*) Καὶ ψευσαῖο ἡμῶν θυσιὰ δειπνα καὶ Οἰ-διποδείας μίξεις, καὶ ὅσα μὴτε λαλεῖν μὴτε νοεῖν θεμῆς ἡμῶν, ἀλλὰ μὴδε πιστεῦειν ἐπὶ τοῖς πο-πόλε πάρα ἀνθρώποις ἐγενετο. *Euse. Eccl. His. Lib. v. c. i. p. 156. D.*

that the heretics, or any men whatever, were guilty of the vices then laid to the charge of the Christians. SECT. 8.

VII. Another argument against the truth of these accounts is, that they are incredible. Trypho the Jew being asked by Justin, whether (*k*) he believed the common reports concerning the Christians, readily answers, they were incredible: for human nature was not capable of such things. This is also largely shown by (*l*) Minutius Felix and (*m*) Tertullian, who sometimes appeal to the heathen people, whether they were able to do the like things, as they charged upon the Christians, with the same circumstances attending them. And at other times ridicule the credulity of those, who believed them of others, when they themselves were unable to do the like. In this last argument Tertullian appears to triumph beyond control.

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(*k*) Τέλο δὲ εἶναι ὁ λέγων, μὴ καὶ ὑμεῖς πεπιστευκαίτε περὶ ἡμῶν ὅτι δὴ ἐσθιομεν ἀνθρώπους, καὶ μὴ αὖ τὴν εἰλαπινὴν ἀποσβέννυντες τῆς λυχνίας, ἀθεismoῖς μίξεσιν ἐκχυλιόμεθα Περὶ ὧν δὲ οἱ πολλοὶ λίσσονται, (εἴη ὁ Τρυφῶν) ἢ πιστεῦσαι αἱρεῖται· πορρω γὰρ κεχωρηκε τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως. *Dial. Cum Try. p. 227. B.*

(*l*) Illum jam velim convenire, qui initiari nos dicit, aut credit de cæde infantis et sanguine. Putas posses fieri, ut tam molle, tam parvulum corpus fata vulnerum capiat? ut quisquam illum rudem sanguinem novelli, et vix dum hominis cædat, fundat, exhauriat? Nemo hoc potest credere, nisi qui possit audere. *Minut. Fel. Cap. xxx. p. 288-9.*

(*m*) O quanta illius præsidis gloria, si eruisset aliquem, qui centum jam infantes comedisset. *Ap. C. ii. p. 2. D.*

Ut fidem naturæ ipsius appellem adversus eos, qui talia credenda esse præsumunt. Ecce proponimus horum facinorum mercedem, vitam æternam. Repromittunt. Credite interim? De hoc enim quæro, an et

quæ credideris, tanti habeas ad eam tali conscientia pervenire? Veni, demerge ferrum in infantem, nullius inimicum, nullius reum, omnium filium. Vel si alterius officium est, tu modo assiste morienti homini . . . excipe rudem sanguinem; eo panem tuum satia, vescere libenter. Interea discumbens dinumera loca, ubi mater, ubi foror. Nota diligenter, ut cum tenebræ ceciderint caninæ non erres . . . Talia initiatus et consignatus, vivis in ævum. Cupio, respondeas, sit tanti æternitas? Aut si non, ideo non credenda. Etiam si credideris nego te velle. Etiam si volueris nego te posse. Cur ergo alii, si vos non potestis. Cur non possitis, si alii possunt? Alia nos opinor natura, Cynophanes aut Sciapodes: alii ordines dentium, alii ad incestam libidinem nervi? Qui ista credis de homine, potes et facere. Tu homo es et ipse quod Christianus. Qui non potes facere, non debes credere. Homo est enim et Christianus, et quod et tu. *Ib. Cap. viii.*

troul. With a peculiar energy of expression he challenges any one of the heathen, to come into Christian assemblies, and try whether he could perform such an action himself, or even bear to be present, while it was perpetrated by others. He enters minutely into the particular parts of the heinous charge: and proves by a direct appeal to the human heart, that no creature, constituted as we are, can possibly be guilty of such abominations. On the subject of infanticide, he shows (*n*) the utter incredibility of a charge, directly inconsistent with some of the distinguishing tenets of the Christians of those days, who would not at their entertainments make use of blood, mixed with any eatables: and who abstained from things strangled, and that died of themselves, lest they should be defiled.

The same arguments will serve for the heretics, for they are charged by later writers with the (*o*) same things, which were before (*p*) imputed to the primitive Christians (*q*).

If

(*n*) Erubescat error vester Christianis, qui ne animalium quidem sanguinem in epulis esculentis habemus, qui propterea quoque suffocatis et morticinis abstinemus, ne quo modo sanguine contaminemur, vel intra viscera sepulto Porro quale est, ut quos sanguinem pecoris horrere confiditis, humano inhiare credatis. *Ib.* C. ix.

(*o*) Εάν δε εγκυμωσῇ ἡ γυνὴ, . . . κατασπᾶντες τὸ ἐμβρυον ἐν ὀλμῳ τινὶ κοπτήσιν. ὑπερῶ, καὶ ἰκαλαμιζάντες μελὶ καὶ σπιτερί καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ ἀρωμαῖα, καὶ μυρὰ πρὸς τὸ μὴ νατᾶν αὐτὸς . . . μέλαλαμβάνουσιν ἐκαστὸς τῷ δακτύλῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ κατακοπεύοντος παιδὸς, καὶ ὥτως τὴν ἀνθρωποδορίαν ἀπεργασάμενοι εὐχολοῖαι λοιπὸν τῷ Θεῷ . . . καὶ δίδειν τὸ τοῦ τελείου πάσχα ἡγεῖσθαι. *Epiph. Hær.* xxvi. No. v. p. 87. B. C.

I give the English of this in Mr. Turner's words. "The Gnostics," says Epiphanius, "by some violent method or other,

"used to draw a child out its mother's
"womb, and beat it to pieces in a mortar,
"and lest this odd sort of food should be
"nauseous to a squeamish stomach, they
"mixed it with honey and pepper, and
"other spices. When this was done they
"all tasted of it. And this they called a
"perfect passover. Upon this monstrous
"and incredible story I observe, &c. &c." *Calumnies upon the Primitive Christians*, p. 54, 55.

The like things were also said of the Montanists, as we shall see hereafter.

(*p*) *Vid. supra*, p. 27. *Note (a)*. The English part of that quotation I shall give in the words of Mr. Turner. "They (the
"Primitive Christians) were charged with
"infanticide, or murdering infants, and
"with eating them. A very young suck-
"ing infant was brought covered over
"with

If then they are incredible with regard to the one, they are so likewise with regard to the other. Besides, there are some things related of the Gnostics by Epiphanius (*r*), and Theodoret (*s*), which in all probability were never practised by any individuals, not even the most vicious and abandoned: much less were they the rites or sacraments of any religious sect. When all this is considered, I cannot help thinking, that there is too much justice in Monsr. Bayle's Satyr; who having given an account of the five crimes charged on the Cainites, adds (*t*), "When we read these things in the fathers of the church, one can scarce forbear thinking, that the case was the same with them, in respect to heretics, as with the heathens, in respect to christianity. The heathens imputed to christianity an hundred extravagancies, and abominations, that had no foundation. The first who forged these calumnies, were undoubtedly guilty of the blackest malice; but the greatest

F 2

" part

"with paste, lest any one should be shocked at the intended barbarity. Then the child was pricked all over with pins or bodkins, and as soon as it was dead, they cut the body in pieces and ate it. This was said to be the Christian method of initiation." *Calumnies*, p. 10.

(*q*) Τῆς Καρποκρητιανῆς φασὶ καὶ τινὰς ἄλλους ζήλωτας τῶν ὁμοίων κακῶν, εἰς τὰ δειπνα ἀθροίζομενους. ὃ γὰρ ἀγαπῆν εἰποῖμι ἀνέγνω τὴν συνέλευσιν αὐτῶν. ἀνδρας ὅμῃ καὶ γυναῖκας, μετὰ δὲ τὸ κορεσθῆναι ἐν πλῆσμονῃ τῇ κυπρίσι φασὶ . . . ἐκποδῶν ποιοῦσάμενους φῶς τῇ τῆ λυχνῆς περιτροπῇ, μίσθυσθαι ὅπως ἐθελοῖεν αἱς βυλίοις. *Clem. Alexan. Strom. L. iii. p. 430. C. D.*

Αὐτὴν γὰρ τὴν συναξίν αὐτῶν ἐν αἰσχροτῇ πολυμυξίᾳ φρεσὶν ἐσθιοῦντες καὶ παραπλοῖοι καὶ ἀνθρώπων σαρκῶν καὶ ἀκαθαρσιῶν, ὡς ὅτε τολμήσω τὸ πᾶν ἐξεῖπεν. κ. τ. λ. *Epiphan. Hær. xxvi. No. iii. p. 84. D.*

(*r*) Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀνὴρ τὴν γυναῖκα ὑποχωρήσας, φασκεὶ λέγων τῇ αὐτῇ γυναίκα, ὅτι ἀναστὰ λέγων, ποιήσου τὴν ἀγαπῆν μὲν τὰ ἀδελφῶν. οἱ δὲ ταλανὲς μίσητες ἀλλήλοις, καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ ἀληθείας αἰσχυνοῦμαι εἰπεῖν τὰ παρὰ τοῖς αὐτοῖς αἰσχυρὰ πεπραγμένα. *Ep. Hær. xxvi. No. iv. p. 86. A. B.* See also *No. viii. ix. xi. Ec.* where a multitude of incredible things are related of them to the last degree shocking and absurd.

(*s*) Οἱ γὰρ τρεῖς ἀθλοὶ τὴν σαρκικὴν καὶ τὴν συνοισιαστικὴν κοινωνίαν ἱεροφανήσιν, καὶ ταύτην οἰοῦνται εἰς τὴν βασιλαίαν αὐτῆς ἀναβαίνειν τὰ χρεῖε. . . . εἰεν δὲ ἂν ἐν ταῖς μείζουσιν παρὰ αὐτοῖς ἐλπίσιν αἱ προεξῶσαι τὰ τεγῆς πορνῆς ἀνεθεῖν ἐκδεχόμεναι τῆς βελομένης ἀπαλίας . . . τοιαῦτα δὲ οἱ . . . ψεδωνυμῶς γνωστὸς σφας αὐτῆς ἀναφορευοῦντες δογματίζουσιν. *Hær. F. Lib. i. No. vi. Tom. iv. p. 197. D.*

(*t*) Bayle's *Dict. Vol. II. article Cainites.*

“ part of those who vented them abroad, after they had been
 “ so maliciously sown, were only guilty of too much credu-
 “ lity; they believed common fame, and never troubled them-
 “ selves to dive into the bottom of it. Is it not more reasonable
 “ to believe that the fathers did not with all the patience requi-
 “ site, thoroughly inform themselves of the real principles of a
 “ sect, than it is to believe, that those very men, who held
 “ that JESUS CHRIST by his death was the saviour of mankind,
 “ should at the same time hold, that the beastliest pleasures are
 “ the ready way to paradise.”

SECT. IX. *The antient Heretics believed the unity of God.*

SECT. 9. **T**HE antient heretics believed one God only. So say several learned and judicious moderns, who have made diligent search into the opinions of these men, and are far from sparing them, or shewing them favour. Massuet in particular observes, that (u) Irenæus in his long and particular arguments

(u) Tantum abest, ut Valentinus Dei unitatem negaret, quin potius, Irenæo teste, aperte profiteretur. Omnes enim, inquit lib. i. cap. xxii. n. i. fere quotquot sunt hæreses deum quidem unum dicunt, sed per sententiam immutant. Non aut multiplicant, sed immutant . . . alium a supremo omnium Patre mundi conditorem constituentes . . . Et hoc ipsum explicat Irenæus, lib. iv. cap. xxxiii. n. 3. Judicabit autem et eos qui sunt a Valentino omnes, quia lingua quidem confitentur unum Deum Patrem, et ex hoc omnia: ipsum autem qui fecerit omnia defectionis sive labis

fructum esse dicit. Aperte igitur professus est Valentinus unum Deum. Et certe abhorret a verosimili, aut priores Gnosticos, . . . aut Valentinum, eosque omnes, qui spreta Gentilium superstitione Christianam religionem amplexi fuerant, omnes aliquam saltem evangelio fidem habere se confessos, profanum execrandumque Christianis omnibus polytheismum ab interitu excitare, aut immensum personarum divinarum numerum profiteri voluisse. Nec tantum nefas inultum abire sivistet Irenæus, qui hominum flagitia omnia, et errorum portenta detegenda,

et

ments with Valentin, and other Gnostics, does not charge them with polytheism, or multiplying Gods: but says, they did not think rightly of God. And he shews, that the world was made by the one supreme God the Father. Nor does he in his discourses with them at any time, make use of the common arguments for the unity of God. SECT. 9.

They supposed the creator of the world, that is, of this visible material world (*x*), not to be God, but an angel. They may sometimes call him God. Nevertheless they plainly shew, that they use the word improperly, and that they do not take him to be God truly, and by nature. So Massuet, chiefly from Irenæus.

To the like purpose Beaufobre, discoursing of the Marcionites. But (*y*) though they might hold two or three principles, yet it ought not to have been thence concluded, that they admitted two or three Gods, if thereby we understand three equal and independent beings. Never any heretic denied the fundamental article of the unity of God, as I have shewn elsewhere. This may be seen in the dialogue ascribed to

et pro merito castiganda, sibi susceperat. Is vero, licet sæpius arguat, quod mundi conditorem a supremo Patre dividerent, unumque et eundem esse rerum opificem ac supremum patrem demonstraret, numquam tamen ut *πολυθεῖς*, aut divinarum personarum numerum supra modum augentes traducit, argumentare conquirat, quibus patres Dei unitatem persuadere solebant. . . . Quod cum non præstiterit, eos non sensisse suos æonas totidem veros deos aut personas divinas fuisse, pro certo æstimare possumus, quamvis deos nominare solerent. *Mass. Diff. Præv. in Iren. p. xxxiii. n. 52.*

(*x*) Ab his fontibus effluxit communis Gnosticorum omnium sententia, angelis tum

creandi tum regendi mundi munus impotum fuisse. Nec secus sensere Valentiniani. Quamvis enim demiurgum deum et patrem interdum nominarent, revera tamen intra naturæ angelicæ limites concludebant. *Demiurgum et ipsum angelum esse dicunt, Deo similem, inquit Irenæus, l. i. cap. v. n. 2. et lib. ii. cap. viii. n. 3.* Nec minus aperte scribit, *l. iv. c. i. n. 1.* hanc esse Valentinianorum mentem, *Demiurgum naturaliter neque deum, neque patrem, esse, sed verbo tenus dici, eo quod dominetur conditioni.* *Id. ib. p. xliii. n. 62.*

(*y*) *Hist. de Manich. T. ii. p. 90.*

SECT. 9. to Origen. Your three (α) principles, says the orthodox disputant, are they equal in power? Far be it, says the Marcionite, they are not equal. Which then is the most excellent? replies the orthodox. It is the principle of good, that is the most powerful, answers the Marcionite. The others are subject to him, says the orthodox. The heretic acknowledges they are so. The orthodox still argues: If so, the inferior principles do nothing but according to the will of the more excellent. The Marcionite answers, When they do ill, they do not act according to his will. Nevertheless he is infinitely more powerful than they. So when Christ came, he vanquished the devil, and abolished the religion of the Creator. It is therefore very wrong, to accuse the Marcionites of holding two or three supreme Gods. All that can be reasonably said is, that they did not think the title of God to be an incommunicable title, nor that it expressed the nature and perfections of the Supreme Being. For which reason they did not scruple to give it to the Creator. As for the devil, in calling him a God they said, they only followed the stile of scripture, where (*a*) he is called the God of this world. For they knew very well, that (*b*) he was no more than an angel, as Tertullian expressly says.

In another place the same learned writer shows (*c*), that though Bardefanes held two principles, one good the other evil, he never admitted two Gods. Therefore the Bardefianist in the

(α) Ισοσθενεις εισιν αι τρεις αρχαι, η ατερα θαλασρας διενηνοχε, . . . Μη γενοιτο· εκ εισιν ισοι. . . . Η τε αβασθ ισχυροτερα . . υποκεινται . . . ουκ εν καλα βελησιν τε κρειττον· αι ηττονες αρχαι, παντα πραττησιν; . . Ου καλα βελησιν αυτη ετοι τα πονηρα πραττησιν· απαξ δε ισχυροτερες αυτων εστιν· και γαρ ο ελθων χριστος και τον διαβολον ενικησεν, και τα τε δημιουργα δογματα ανε-

τριψεν. *Dialog. contr. Marcion. p. 6. Basf. 1674.*

(*a*) Θεος τε αιωνος τελε. 2 Cor. iv. 4.

(*b*) . . si non eum fatanam significaret, quem et nos et Marcion angelum novimus. *Adv. Marc. l. v. c. xii. p. 600. B. p. 469.*

(*c*) *Hist. de Manich. T. ii. p. 133.*

the dialogues ascribed to Origen, before quoted, protests, that *(d)* he believed but one God, and he good. He held, that *(e)* this one God had all perfections. He alone is immortal, all powerful, infinite, containing all things: governing *(f)* all things, so that no being in heaven or on earth, can withdraw from his dominion.

Tertullian says, in general, of the *(g)* heretics, who denied the Father to be Creator of the world, that is, of this material visible world, that they held it to be made by angels.

The author of the additions to Tertullian's book of Prescriptions, says of Saturninus, that *(h)* like Simon and Menander; he held the eternal God to live above, and this lower world to have been made by angels, much inferior to him.

He speaks to the like purpose of Basilides, that *(i)* he did not allow the God of the Jews to be truly God, but only an angel. According to his account then, the unity *(k)* was an article strongly maintained by the heretics. Hippolytus observes

(d) Θεον καὶ ἓνα φημι εἶναι, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς.
p. 71. Ἐγὼ ἓνα θεὸν οἶδα ἀγαθόν. p. 83

(e) Ἐγὼ φημι, τὸν θεὸν ἀφθάρτον μόνον. *ib.*
p. 78. πάντοτε αἰῶνα φημι. p. 83. Δηλον, ὅτι περιέχει, καὶ ὃ περιέχεται. *ib.*

(f) Ἐκ ποίας δυνάμεως περιέχεται, καὶ συγκρατεῖται, ὁ οὐρανός, ἡ γῆ, ἡ θάλασσα, ἡ ὅσῃς κοσμοί; ὑπο τίνος περιέχεται, καὶ περικρατεῖται; . . . Δηλον, ὅτι ὑπο θεοῦ. *Ibid.*

(g) . . . præstruens adversus conjecturas hæreticorum, qui mundum ab angelis et potestatibus diversis volunt structum: qui et ipsum creatorem aut angelum volunt, aut ad alia quæ extrinsecus, ut opera mundi, ignorantem quoque subornatum. *Adv. Praxeam.* cap. xix. p. 650. B. p. 504. Fr.

(h) Secutus est post hæc et Saturninus, et hic similiter dicens, innascibilem virtutem,

id est Deum, in summis et illis infinitis partibus, et in superioribus permanere; longe autem distantes ab hoc angelos inferiorem mundum fecisse. *De Præscrip. c. xlv. p. 249. D. p. 214. Fr.*

(i) In ultimis quidem angelis, et qui hunc fecerunt mundum, novissimum ponit Judæorum Deum, id est, Deum legis et prophetarum: quem Deum negat, sed angelum dicit. *Ibid. p. 250. A. p. 214. Fr.*

(k) Postea Basilides hereticus erupit: hic esse dicit summum Deum . . . a quo mentem creatam . . . inde verbum. Ex illo providentiam, ex providentia virtutem et sapientiam. Ex ipsis inde principatus et potestates, et angelos factos, &c. *Ibid. p. 250. A. p. 214. Fr.*

SECT. 9. serves (l), that after all their shifts and evasions, Valentine, Marcion, Cerinthus, and the rest, were all obliged to recur to one God; who made all things according to his will.

Dr. Cudworth seems to have viewed this matter, in a light somewhat similar to the foregoing representation. For having endeavoured to prove, that the heathen philosophers did not believe all their Gods to be so many *unmade self-existent deities*, he proceeds in the following manner. (m) “The next considerable appearance of a multitude of *self-existent Deities*, “seems to be in the Valentinian *thirty Gods*, and *Æons*, which “have been taken by some for such; but it is certain, that “these were all of them save one, generated; they being derived by that fantastic deviser of them, from one self-originated Deity, called *Bythus*. For thus Epiphanius (n) informs us. *This (Valentinus) would also introduce thirty Gods, “and Æons, and Heavens, the first of which is Bythos.*”

Having afterwards allowed that there were some who really asserted a *duplicity* of Gods; he however, in the conclusion, adds (o), “Wherefore as these *ditheists*, as to all that which “is good in the world, held a *monarchy*, or one sole principle “and original, so it is plain, that had it not been for this business of *evil* (which they conceived could not be salved any “other way) they would never have asserted any more *principles* or Gods than *one*.”

(l) Και γὰρ πάντες ἀπεκλίσθησαν εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ ἀκούοντες εἰπεῖν, ὅτι τὸ πᾶν εἰς ἓνα ἀναλίσχεται. Εἰ ἢ τὰ πάντα εἰς ἓνα ἀναλίσχεται, καὶ κατὰ Οὐαλεντινόν, καὶ κατὰ Μαρκίωνα, Κερυνθόνε, καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ἐκείνων φλυαρίαν, καὶ ἀκούεις εἰς τὸ πᾶν περὶ τούτου, ἵνα τὸν ἓνα ὁμολογήσωσιν αἰτίον τῶν πάντων, ὥτως ἢ συντρέχουσιν καὶ αὐτοὶ μὴ θελοῦντες, τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἓνα Θεὸν λέγειν ποιησάντα ὡς ἐβέλησιν. *Contra Noet. c. xi. p. 14. Ed. Fab.*

(m) *Intellectual System, p. 212, 213. Lon. 1678.*

(n) Τριακοντα γὰρ καὶ εἰς Θεοὺς καὶ Αἰῶνας καὶ Οὐρανὸς βασιλεῖαι παρεισάγετο, ὡς οὗτος ἐστὶν Βυθός. *Hær. xxxi. No. ii. p. 164. C.*

(o) *In. Sys. p. 213.*

SECT. X. *They made great use of the Scriptures.*

THE antient heretics paid a regard to the scriptures. It SEC. 10.
 will hereafter more probably fall in my way to shew, what parts of the sacred writings they severally used. At present I only observe in the general, that they endeavoured to support their particular sentiments (*p*), by an appeal to these inspired books. To me indeed it appears very certain, that (*q*) all who build upon revelation, must have recourse either to scripture or tradition; that is, either to *written* or to *oral* tradition, provided they happen to live after the first promulgation of the revelation which they profess to receive. Jerom therefore justly (*r*) blames those, who depended too much upon their own reason, in determining matters of pure revelation.

Irenæus has the following passage, in his large work against heresies. Such (*s*) is the certain truth of our gospels, that
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(*p*) Sed ipsi et de scripturis agunt et de scripturis suadent. Aliunde scilicet loqui possent de rebus fidei, nisi ex literis fidei. *Tertul. de præf. heret. C. xv. p. 236. C. p. 205. Fr.*

Nec periclitator dicere, ipsas quoque scripturas sic esse ex Dei voluntate dispositas, ut hæreticis materias subministrarent, cum legam; oportere hæreses esse, cum sine scripturis esse non possint. *Ibid. C. xxxix. p. 246. p. 212. Fr.*

(*q*) Ipsi quoque hæretici cum Christianum cogitantur habere nomen, et sacramenta Christiana, et scripturas, et professionem, magnum dolorem faciunt in cordi-

bus piorum. *Aug. de civit. Dei. L. xviii. c. li. n. ii. Ben. vol. v. p. 184. 3. Venet.*

(*r*) Quis enim philosophorum, quis gentilium, quis hæreticorum, non judicat Christum, ponentium ei leges nativitatis, et passionis, resurrectionisque suæ substantiæ. *In Jerom. C. xv. T. iii. p. 601. In.*

(*s*) Tanta est autem circa evangelia hæc firmitas, ut ipsi hæretici testimonium reddant eis, ut ex ipsis egrediens unusquisque eorum conetur suam confirmare doctrinam. Ebionæi etenim eo evangelio, quod est secundum Mattheum, solo utentes, ex illo ipso convincuntur non recte præsumentes de Domino. Marcion autem id quod est secundum

SEC. 10. heretics themselves bear testimony to them, every one of them endeavouring to prove his particular doctrines from thence. But the Ebionites may be confuted from the gospel of Matthew, which alone they receive. Marcion useth only the gospel of Luke, and that mutilated. Nevertheless from what he retains, it may be shewn, that he blasphemes the one only God. They who divide Jesus from Christ, and say that Christ always remained impassible, whilst Jesus suffered, prefer the gospel of Mark. However, if they read with a love of truth, they may thence be convinced of their error. The Valentinians receive the gospel of John entire, in order to prove their pairs of æons, and by that gospel *they* may be confuted, as I have shown in the first book of this work. Since therefore persons of different sentiments agree with us, in making use of this testimony, our evidence for the authority of these gospels is certain and unquestionable.

Many passages may be alledged from other writers to show, that the antient heretics endeavoured to support themselves by the words of the scriptures, either of the old, or the new testament, or both; and that they who rejected the old, insisted on the authority of the new.

Origen is a good witness here, on account of his antiquity and probity, as well as vast knowledge; and in particular, his
extensive

cundum Lucam circumcidens, ex his quæ adhuc servantur penes eum blasphemus in solum existentum Deum ostenditur. Qui autem Jesum seperant a Christo, et impassibilem perseverasse Christum, passum vero Jesum dicunt, id quod secundum Marcum est præferentes evangelium, cum amore veritatis legentes illud corrigi possunt. Hi autem qui a Valentino sunt, eo quod est se-

cundum Johannem plenissime utentes, ad ostensionem conjugationum suarum ex ipso deteguntur, nihil recte dicentes, quemadmodum ostendimus in primo libro. Cum ergo hi qui contradicunt, nobis testimonium perhibeant, et utantur his firma et vera est nostra de illis ostensio. *Iren. lib. iii. c. xi. n. vii. p. 189, 190. Mass. p. 220. Gr.*

extensive acquaintance with the doctrines of heretics (*t*). He observes, that they endeavoured to impose upon people, by al-
 ledging texts of scripture for their particular tenets, though
 they quoted them (*u*) in a very unfair and mutilated manner;
 and that they appealed to them, because they were the only
 writings whose authority was universally allowed. Even those
 of them, who would not believe the giver of the law and the
 inspirer of the prophets, to be the supreme Lord of the uni-
 verse, or the father of Jesus Christ; still acknowledged the
 Divine Authority of some parts of the new testament, and
 received its declarations as authentic and decisive. In some
 places he imputes the rise of heresies (*x*), to the too literal
 interpretation of scripture. An anonymous author (*y*) who
 lived about the year 212, and who is largely cited by Euse-
 bius, speaks (*z*) of some heretics in his time, who rejected
 the law and the prophets, under a pretence of grace. These
 persons despised the antient dispensation unreasonably; never-
 theless they received the gospel, and greatly respected the scrip-

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tures

(*t*) Τέλω δε ηκολυθησε, διαφορως εκδεξαμενων
 τως αμα πασιν πιστευθειας ειναι θειους λογους, το
 γενισθαι αιρεσεις. *Contr. Cels. L. iii. p. 118.*
Can.

Εγωσαν εν εν ημιν οι μη του αυτου λεγοντες τω
 Ιουδαιων Θεω Θεον· αλλα ε τι γε παρα τελο κα-
 τηγορητοι οι απο των αυτων γραμμαιων αποδεικνυν-
 τες. κ. τ. λ. *Ibid. L. v. p. 271. Can.*

(*u*) Scis quia si de aliis ei voluminibus
 loqui volueris, non decipies, neque habere
 poterunt auctoritatem assertiones tuæ. Sic
 legit scripturas Marcion, ut Diabolus: Sic
 Basilides, sic Valentinus, ut cum Diabolo
 dicerent salvatori. Scriptum est *Ex Orig.*
Stro. T. i. Bened.

Primum simpliciter sentientes armemur ad-
 versus impios hæreticos qui dicunt non esse

conditorem patrem Jesu, neque Deum legis,
 nec prophetarum. Exubescant Valentiniani
 audientes Jesum inquentem. In his quæ
 sunt patris mei oportet me esse. Erubescant
 omnes hæretici qui evangelium recipiunt se-
 cundum Lucam, et quæ in eo sunt scripta
 contemnunt. *Ibid.*

(*x*) Hæreses quoque magis de carnali
 scripturæ intelligentia, quam de opere car-
 nis nostræ, ut plurimi estimant, &c. *Ibid.*
T. i. p. 41. Bened. Confer. lib. iv. p. 164.

(*y*) He is particularly spoken of before,
c. xxxii. vol. iii. p. 36—50.

(*z*) Αλλ απλως αρνησασμενοι τοντε νομον και
 τες προφητας, ανομης και αθεης διδασκαλιας,
 προφασιν χαρις. *Eus. Ec. H. L. v. c. xxviii.*
p. 198. B.

SEC. 10.

tures of the new testament. Epiphanius has given a large and particular account of the manner, in which Marcion mutilated the scriptures, yet he says (*a*), his heresies may be confuted even from what he retains of the gospel and epistles. Of all heretics, he indeed seems to have taken the greatest liberty, in altering and curtailing the writings of the new testament. Nevertheless, after a long argument against him, Tertullian clearly shews (*b*), that the principal and most important doctrines of the gospel remained equally certain as before, even in his mutilated copy. The same writer says in another place (*c*), that it was the usual custom with heretics, to insist upon a text or two, without regarding the general tenour of the scriptures. Augustin often blames heretics (*d*) for perverting scripture in favour of their errors; and makes their fault to lie in this, not that they rejected or despised the scriptures, but that they misunderstood them, and put wrong interpretations upon them (*e*).

All heretics he says, endeavour to defend their false opinions (*f*) by the authority of the divine scriptures. Nevertheless, the

(*a*) Εξ ὑπερ χάρακτος τοῦ παρ αὐτοῦ σωζομένου, τῆς εὐαγγελίας καὶ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν τοῦ ἀποστόλου, δεῖξαι αὐτὸν ἐν Θεῷ ἐχομεν ἀπαλειῶνα καὶ πεπλανημένον, καὶ ἀκρόαλα ἐξελεγχαι. *Epiph. Har.* 42.

(*b*) Misereor tui Marcion, frustra laborasti. Christus enim Jesus in evangelio tuo, meus est. *Ad. Mar. Lib. iv. c. xliii. sub. fin. p. 575. B. p. 451. Fr.*

(*c*) His tribus capitulis totum instrumentum utriusque testamenti volunt cedere, cum oporteat secundum plura intelligi pauciora, sed proprium hoc est omnium hæreticorum. *Adv. Prox. c. xx. p. 651 C. 505. Fr.*

(*d*) Omnes enim hæretici qui eas in auctoritate recipiunt, ipsas sibi videntur sectari, cum suos potius sectentur errores: ac per

hoc, non quod eas contemnant, sed quod eas non intelligant hæretici sunt. *Ep. cxx. c. iii. n. xiii. al. ep. 222. T. 2.*

Sine dubio enim hoc ipsum quod perverse et impie sentiunt, aliquibus testimoniis divinarum scripturarum conantur adstruere: in quibus eis ostendendum est, quam non recte intelligant literas sacras conscriptas ad fidei salutem. *Ep. cclxiv (al. cxli.) n. iii. T. ii. p. 200.*

(*e*) Et quoniam multi hæretici ad suam sententiam, quæ præter fidem est catholicæ disciplinæ, expositionem scripturarum divinarum trahere consueverunt, &c. *De Gen. ad lit. Lib. Im. c. i. In. T. iii. p. 158. 4. Venet.*

(*f*) Quandoquidem nec ipsis sanctis divinarum librorum auctoritatibus, ullo modo quis-

the scriptures ought not to be reckoned the occasion of these errors. He also speaks of some (*g*), who, though they rejected the old testament, attempted to prove their opinions from the gospels, and epistles.

In like manner St. Jerom says (*b*), if heretics reject the old testament they may be confuted from the new, which they own. The same author sometimes complains (*i*), that heretics strive to support their doctrines by quotations of scripture, that have no connexion together: and says (*k*), that neither heretics, nor the less knowing among the faithful, understand the scripture in a manner becoming its majesty. The same learned antient father adds (*l*), that heretics corrupt the truth of the gospel by wrong interpretations. They are miserable wine coopers: they turn wine into water. In his comment upon Jerem. xiii. 23. he says, that (*m*) the heretics, who hold

quam tribuerit tam multos et varios errores hæreticorum: cum omnes ex iisdem scripturis falsas atque fallaces opiniones suas conentur defendere. *De Trin. L. i. c. iv. n. vi. T. 8.*

(*g*) Et quoniam quoquo modo christianum se videri cupit, unde ex evangelio et ex apostolo ponit aliqua testimonia; etiam ex scripturis ad novum testamentum pertinentibus refellendus est: ut ostendatur in reprehensione veterum inconsideratius quam versutius insanire. *Con. Adv. Leg. et prop. L. i. C. i. Tom. vi. p. 188. 4. Venet.*

(*b*) Sin autem scandalizatur hæreticus, qui vetus non recipit testamentum, quod dominus miscere dicatur erroris vel vertiginis spiritum, audiat scriptum in apostolo, hoc est, in novo testamento: *Tradidit eos Deus in desideriiis cordis sui in immunditiam. (Præm. i. 24.) In Is. cap. xix. p. 184. f. T. 3.*

(*i*) Neque enim utuntur hæretici testimoniis scripturarum sibi cohærentibus, sed conturbant omnia. *In Ezek. cap. xxxii. p. 926. fin.*

Nostra autem Jerusalem quæ interpretatur visio pacis ab hæreticis scinditur quando unum et alterum testimonium scripturarum de propriis carpentes locis, conantur assuere his, quibus non queunt coaptare. *Ibid. cap. xvi. p. 793. f.*

(*k*) Referri potest ad hæreticos et ad simplices quosque credentium, qui non ita scripturam intelligunt ut illius convenit majestati. *In Is. c. xxxiii. p. 271. M.*

(*l*) Hæretici quoque evangelicam veritatem corrumpunt prava intelligentia, et sunt caupones pessimi facientes de vino aquam. *Ad. Is. c. i. v. xxii. p. 18. in T. 3.*

(*m*) Hoc testimonio utuntur adversus ecclesiam, qui diversas cupiunt asserere naturas et

SEC. 10.

hold two natures, alledge that text against the church. And he speaks elsewhere (*n*), as if all christian heretics endeavoured to support their errors and falshoods, by passages of scripture: informing us, that (*o*) it was customary for them to argue from every part of scripture, from the old, and the new testament, from the prophets, the apostles, and the evangelists. Tertullian speaks much to the same purpose, that (*p*) heretics endeavour to support their erroneous notions, by wrong interpretations of scripture; and he further adds (*q*), that they might be confuted from scripture, if they would abide by its determinations, and attend to them alone. Ambrosiaster's (*r*) definition or description of heretics is, that (*s*) they are men who endeavour to support their opinions by scripture, putting their own sense upon the divine word, and attempting to defend their errors by the authority of the sacred writings. Vincentius Lirinensis testifies the same thing, informing us, that some in his days who were called heretics, made great use of scripture, and continually answered their adversaries and calumniators

et tantam dicunt esse nigridinem peccatorum ut in candorem transire non possint. *In Jer. c. xiii. p. 594. In.*

(*n*) Hoc faciunt omnes heretici sub Christiano nomine fornicantes, et erroribus suis atque mendaciis obtendentes testimonia scripturarum. *In Amos, c. ii. p. 1384. In.*

(*o*) Sic heretici assumunt testimonia scripturarum de veteri et novo testamento: et furantur verba salvatoris unusquisque proximo suo, prophetis et apostolis et evangelistis. *In Jerem. c. xxiii. p. 640. fin.*

(*p*) Nihil autem mirum si et ex ipsius instrumento captentur argumenta, cum oporteat hæreses esse, quæ esse non possent, si non et perperam scripturæ intelligi possent. *De Resur. Car. c. xli. p. 408. B. c. xl. p. 333. Fran.*

Scripturas obtendunt et hac sua audacia statim quosdam movent. In ipso vero congressu, firmos quidem fatigant, infirmos capiunt, medios cum scrupulo dimittunt. *De Præf. Hæc. c. xv. p. 236. C. p. 205. Fran.*

(*q*) Aufer denique hæreticis, quæ cum ethnicis sapiunt, ut de scripturis solis quæstiones suas sistant, et stare non possunt. *De Res Car. c. iii. p. 381. B. p. 315. Fr.*

(*r*) Concerning the author of these commentaries on thirteen epistles of St. Paul. See before, *P. II. vol. iv. p. 789, 790. and vol ix. p. 361—5.*

(*s*) Hæretici hi sunt, qui per verba legis legem impugnant: proprium enim sensum verbis adstruunt legis, ut pravitatem mentis suæ, legis auctoritati commendent. *Ad Tit. c. iii. v. 10, 11.*

lumniators by quotations (*t*) from the sacred writings. He indeed says, (*u*) "It is the devil who puts these arguments "into their mouths, and speaks by them." From which probably some will conclude, that many of their arguments from scripture were such, as their adversaries could not answer. However, the best way of confuting these *diabolical* arguments, would have been by showing, that the meaning they put upon the texts, was not their genuine sense; and by producing more numerous passages in confutation of their doctrines. In many cases indeed, they certainly argued with little strength, consistency, or regard to the general tenour of the sacred writings. It would be endless to enter into particulars. Suffice it to mention one instance. They argued against the resurrection of the body, (*x*) from St. Paul's words. 1 Cor. xv. 50. SEC. 10.

(*t*) Ac si quis interroget quempiam hæreticorum sibi talia persuadentem: unde probas? . . . Statim ille: *Scriptum est enim*. Et continuo mille testimonia, mille exempla, mille auctoritates parat, de lege, de psalmis, de apostolis, de prophetis. *Comment. c. xxxvii. Baluz. p. 359.*

(*u*) Non dubium est, quin auctoris sui callida machinamenta sectentur: quæ ille

nunquam profecto comminisceretur, nisi sciret, &c. See the whole of this passage before, P. II. vol. xi. p. 159—165.

(*x*) Sed caro, inquis, et sanguis regnum Dei hæreditate possidere non possunt. Scimus hoc quoque scriptum, sed de industria distulimus hucusque. *Tert. de resur. Carn. c. xlviii. p. 416. A. B. p. 339. Fr.*

SECT. XI. *Some of them also used Apocryphal Books.*

SEC. II.

HEGESIPPUS, as we are informed by Eusebius, speaking (*y*) of the books called Apocryphal, says, that some of them were forged by some heretics in his time. Irenæus affirms, that (*z*) they quoted an innumerable multitude of apocryphal and spurious books, which they had themselves forged.

Amphilochius is said (*a*) to have published a book, concerning the spurious writings, forged by heretics, though it is not mentioned by Jerome (*b*) in his account of Amphilochius.

We cannot therefore acquit the heretics of this charge. It seems to be supported by sufficient evidence, in the testimony of the writers just quoted. I have already had occasion to mention several compositions of this kind. One is the gospel of Peter, censured by (*c*) Serapion, forged by one of the doctæ. I have taken notice elsewhere (*d*) of several pieces ascribed to Leucius, who was of the same opinion. The reader may likewise be pleased to consult the chapter of Eusebius. Perhaps none of the sects were free from this fault. There were some books that may be called apocryphal, composed by the

Uni-

(*y*) Και περι των λεγομενων δε αποκριφων δια-
λαμθανων, επι των αυτων χρονων προς τινων αιρετι-
κων αναπεπλασθαι τινα τελων ιστορει. *Euseb. l.*
iv. c. xxii. p. 143. B.

(*z*) Περι δε τελους αμυθητου πληθους αποκρι-
φων και νοτων γραφων, ας αυτοι επλασασαν, πα-
ρισφερουσιν εις καταπληξιν των αιουστων κ. λ.
Iren. l. i. c. xx. [al. 17.] n. i.

(*a*) Περι των ψευδεπιγραφων παρα τοις αιρε-
τικοις liber : cujus verba quædam adducit sy-

nodos septima. *Can. H. L. T. i. p. 253. in*
Amphilochio. Conf. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. vii.
p. 505. Le vii. concile rapporte quelques
endroits d'un discours du mesme saint sur
les écrits supposés aux apôtres, dont les he-
retiques se servoient. Tillem. Mem. T. ix.
Amphil. note v.

(*b*) *Vid. de Viris Illus. c. cxxxiii.*

(*c*) *See vol. ii. of this work, ch. xxvi.*

(*d*) *See vol. vi. p. 395—400.*

Unitarians or Ebionites, that is, such as maintained one principle: others by those who held two principles, and were doctetæ. SEC. II.

With regard to this, however, several things may be observed;

I. Most of these apocryphal pieces, whether gospels, or acts, or circuits and travels, or revelations, went under the names of apostles (*e*), or apostolical men: and in the general bear testimony to the transcendent excellence of Jesus and his doctrine, and the truth of the main things concerning him.

II. It does not clearly appear, what degree of credit was given to these writings: or that they were equally respected by any, with the genuine and undisputed books of the new testament: for which, as we have already seen, and may see further hereafter, heretics had a great esteem, and endeavoured to prove their doctrines by them.

III. The catholics themselves are not free from this charge. There were several books forged by them, and ascribed to persons, who were not their real authors. Among these may be reckoned, the acts of Paul and Thecla, the Sibylline Poems, the books ascribed to Hydaspes, Hermes Trismegistus, and divers others: as much has been owned by several learned writers, particularly (*f*) Isaac Casaubon. Mr. Mosheim (*g*), many years
H since,

(*e*) Quæ [evangelia] a diversis auctoribus edita, diversarum hæreseon fuere principia: ut est illud juxta Ægyptios, et Thomam, et Matthiam, et Bartholomæum, duodecimque apostolorum. *Hier. Pr. in Matt.*

(*f*) Postremo illud quoque me vehementer movet, quod videam primis ecclesiæ temporibus quam plurimos existisse, qui facinus palmarium judicabant cælestem veritatem figmentis suis ire adjutum: quo facilius videlicet nova doctrina à gentium sapientibus

admitteretur. Officiosa hæc mendacia vocabant, bono fine excogitata. Quo ex fonte dubio procul sunt orti libri fere sexcenti, quos illa ætas et proxima viderunt, ab hominibus minime malis, (nam de hæreticorum libris non loquimur:) sub nomine etiam domini Jesu, et apostolorum, aliorumque sanctorum publicatos. *Casaub. Ex. i. in Baron. n. x. p. 54.*

(*g*) Universe quidem inde hanc pestem natam esse novimus, quod Christiani, tam recte

Sec. II. since, published a Dissertation, shewing the reasons and causes of suppositious writings in the first and second century: and all own, that Christians of all sorts were guilty of this fraud. Indeed we may say, it was one great fault of the times. For truth needs no such defences, and would (*b*) blush at the sight of them. She only desires to be shewn in open light, and to appear without disguise.

IV. Nevertheless, in all probability, these spurious and suppositious writings have not been of any very bad consequence. Few of them have come down to us: which shews, that they were not much esteemed. All did not approve of such methods. The author of the acts of Paul and Thecla, underwent a censure soon after his book was published. What notice has been taken of these things by the antient writers that remain, I have shewn, as we passed along (*i*). By some writers, these books are quoted very sparingly. And when quoted, it is with some diminishing token, shewing, that they were not of authority. It may indeed be supposed, that forgeries of all sorts were despised by some of every denomination, catholics, and heretics.

recte quam perverse sentientes, opinionibus suis majorem auctoritatem, pluresque sectatores acquirere se posse crediderunt, si sanctissimos viros, et ipsum christianæ religionis conditorem, illis fuisse ostenderent. J. L. Mosheim *Diff. de Causis suppositorum librorum inter Christianos primi et secundi sæculi. n. i. p. 221. edit. 2da. 1733.*

(*b*) Nostræ columbæ etiam domus simplex, in editis semper et apertis et ad lucem. . . . Nihil veritas erubescit, nisi solummodo abscondi. *Tertull. adv. Valent. cap. iii. p. 284. A. 243. Fr.*

(*i*) See vol. ii. ch. xxvii. p. 641—643. and vol. viii. ch. lxiii. p. 388—404.

SECT. XII. *They respected the Apostles, and apostolic Traditions.*

THIS appears in part from the two last particulars, their making use of the scriptures of the new testament, and forging books, (if they forged any) in the names of the apostles, or of apostolical men. It has been often observed by learned moderns, that Basilides pretended to have received his peculiar sentiments from Glaucias, a companion of Peter; and Valentin, from Theodas, a disciple of Paul (*k*). SEC. 12.

Tertullian, writing against the heretics, assures us (*l*), that they could not deny, and even owned, that the apostles knew all the doctrines of the gospel, and agreed with one another in what they taught. The most they could presume to assert in favour of their peculiarities was, that the apostles did not declare the whole truth to all. But this will appear more particularly, in the history of the several heretics. I shall here only mention two or three general things, to prove, that the apostles, and apostolic traditions were regarded by them.

Ptolemæus, a Valentinian, in a letter to Flora, having observed (*m*), that the ceremonial and typical laws of the Pentateuch were disannulled by the appearing of the truth, adds,

H 2

“ These

(*k*) Καθαπερ ο βασιλειδης, και Γλαυκιαν επιγραφηται διδασκαλον, ως αυχουσιν αυτοι, τον Πητρον ερμηνευα. ως αυτως δε και Ουαλεντινον Θεοδαδιν ακηκουσιν φερουσιν. *Clem. Strom. L. vii. p. 898. ed. Potter. p. 764. D. ed. Paris.*

(*l*) Sed, ut diximus, eadem dementia est; cum confitentur quidem nihil apostolos ignorasse, nec diversa inter se prædicasse; non tamen omnia volunt illos omnibus revelasse:

quædam enim palam, et universis: quædam secreto, et paucis demandasse. *De Pr. Hæ. c. xxv. p. 240. A. B. Fran. 205.*

(*m*) Παρησής δε της αληθείας, τα της αληθείας δε ποιουν, η τα της ειμον. Ταυτα δε και οι Μαθηται αυτη και ο αποστολος εδειξε Παυλος. κ. λ. *In appen. ad Iren. p. 360, 361. Vel ap. Grab. Spi. Pat. vol. ii. p. 77, 78.*

SEC. 12.

“These things the other disciples of Christ taught, and also the apostle Paul.” After which he tells Flora, “He will explain to her, the particulars of that doctrine he had just been mentioning (*n*), by the help of tradition received from the apostles, and handed down to them.” But he adds; “All must be tried by, and made to square with the doctrine of the Saviour himself, which was to be the rule.”

Tertullian speaking (*o*) of heretics in the general, challenges them to produce men, who held the same opinions with themselves, from the apostle’s days down to the present time; and says, “Though all heretics endeavour to show, that their opinions are derived from the apostles, yet they are very far from being able to prove this; or to make it appear, that they were either held by the apostles, or are handed down from them.”

Ptolemæus, the forecited Valentinian, in the passage just quoted (*p*), makes mention of the apostolic tradition, and speaks of it as received from the apostles themselves, in a continued succession, down to the time in which he lived. From all which it plainly appears, that the authority of the apostles was regarded by these men, especially those writings which were universally believed to be theirs: since even traditions, which could with probability be traced back to them, were treated with great respect.

(*n*) Μαθηται γαρ, Θεω διδοῦντο, εξης και την τετη αρχηνη και γεννησιν, αξιουμενη της αποστολικης παραδοσεως, ην εκ διαδοχης και ημεις παρεληφμεν, μετὰ και τε κανονισαι παλίας της λογις τη τε Σωτηρι διδασκαλια. *Ibid.* p. 361. *vel ap. Grab. ib. p. 80.*

(*o*) Ceterum si quæ audent interferere se ætati apostolicæ, ut ideo videantur ab apostolis traditæ, quia sub apostolis fuerunt; possumus dicere: edant ergo origines ecclesiarum suarum: evolvant ordinem episcoporum suo-

rum, ita per successiones ab initio decurrentem, &c. . . . Ita omnes hæreses ad utramque formam a nostris ecclesiis provocatæ, probent se quaquā putant apostolicas. Sed adeo nec sunt, nec probare possunt quod non sunt: nec recipiuntur in pacem et communicationem ab ecclesiis quoque modo apostolicis. *De Pr. H. c. xxxii. p. 243. Fr. 210.*

(*p*) Αξιουμενη της αποστολικης παραδοσεως, ην εκ διαδοχης και ημεις παρεληφμεν. *Ap. Grab. Spi. Pat. vol. ii. p. 80.*

S E C T.

SECT. XIII. *The antient Heresiarchs were generally Men of Letters, and are said to have borrowed most of their peculiar notions from some of the Sects of Philosophers.*

SOME, if not all the antient heresiarchs, or leaders of sects, SEC. 13. were men of letters. This is an observation of Jerom, who says (*q*) as much of all of them in general; but particularly of Valentin, Marcion, and Bardesanes. The same thing is asserted (*r*) by Augustin.

It hath been often affirmed, both by antient and modern writers, that the earlier Christian heretics borrowed from the heathen philosophers. The thing is indeed very likely in itself. For some learned converts, whether from Judaism or Gentilism, would naturally bring along with them, many of their former prejudices and peculiarities of sentiment.

Tertullian very frequently utters his complaints (*s*) against heretics, for mixing philosophy with Christianity, and interpreting divine doctrines by philosophical notions.

Some

(*q*) Nullus enim potest hæresim struere nisi qui ardentis ingenii est, et habet dona naturæ, quæ a Deo artifice sunt creata. Talis fuit Valentinus, talis Marcion, quos doctissimos legimus. Talis Bardesanes, cujus etiam philosophi admirantur ingenium. *In Of. c. x. p. 1301. In.*

(*r*) In ipsis postremo erroribus et falsitatibus defendendis, quam magna claruerint ingenia philosophorum atque hæreticorum, quis æstimare sufficiat? *Aug. De Civit. Dei. L. xxii. c. xxiv. n. iii. vel. T. v. p. 238. 2. D. Venet. 1570.*

(*s*) Nisi quod solus eam Hermogenes cognovit, et hæreticorum Patriarchæ Philosophi. *Adv. Hermog. c. viii. p. 269. D. 231. Fran. Doleo bona fide Platonem omnium hæreticorum condimentarium factum. De Anima, cap. xxiii. p. 325. B. 275. Fr.*

Ea est enim materia sapientiæ secularis, temeraria interpret divinæ naturæ et dispositionis. . . . Eadem materia apud hæreticos et philosophos volutatur, iidem retractatus implicantur. Unde malum, et quare? Et unde homo, et quomodo? *De Pr. Hæ. c. vii. p. 232. D. 203. Fr.*

Quid

OBSERVATIONS ON

Some are said to have borrowed from one, some from another sect of philosophy. According to Tertullian, Hermogenes (*t*) and Marcion (*u*) borrowed from the Stoics, and Valentin from the Platonists. And the tenets of all the different sects of philosophers (*w*), were understood by them, to be inconsistent with a belief of the resurrection of the body.

In some of their peculiar tenets, he supposed them to be influenced by the principles of Zeno, and Heraclitus (*x*), and in others by those of Epicurus and Plato.

Origen (*y*) who often mentions together Basilides, Valentin and Marcion, charges all three with contemning the Christian religion, by introducing philosophical schemes.

Epi-

Quid ergo Athenis et Hierosolymis? quid academiae et ecclesiae? . . . Viderint qui stoicum et Platonicum et dialecticum Christianismum protulerunt. Nobis curiositate opus non est post Christum Jesum, nec inquisitione post evangelium, *De Pr. c. vii, viii. p. 233. B. 203. Fr.*

(*t*) A christianis enim conversus ad philosophos, de ecclesia in academiam et porticum, inde sumpsit a stoicis materiam cum Domino ponere, quae et ipsa semper fuerit, neque nata, neque facta, nec initium habens omnino nec finem, ex qua Dominus omnia postea fecerit. *Adv. Herm. c. i. p. 265. D. 229. Fr.*

(*u*) Ubi tunc Marcion Ponticus Naucleus stoicae studiosus? Ubi tunc Valentinus Platonicae sectator. *De Pr. Hær. c. xxx. p. 242. A. 209. Fr.*

(*w*) At cum monet cavendum a subtiloquentia et philosophia et inani seductione, longum est quidem et alterius operis ostendere, hac sententia omnes haereseis damnari: quod omnes ex subtiloquentiae viribus, et philosophiae regulis consent. Sed Marcion principalem suae fidei terminum de Epicuri schola agnoscat, Dominum inferens hebe-

tem, ne timeri eum dicat; collocans et cum Deo Creatore materiam de porticu Stoicorum; negans carnis resurrectionem, de qua proinde nulla philosophia consentit. Cujus ingeniis tam longe abest veritas nostra, ut et iram Dei excitare formidet, et omnia illum ex nihilo protulisse confidat, et carnem eandem restitutum repromittat, et Christum ex vulva virginis natum non erubescat, ridentibus philosophis et haereticis et ethnicis ipsis. *Adv. Mar. L. v. c. xix. p. 613. D. 477. Fr.*

(*x*) Ipsae denique haereseis a philosophia subornantur. Inde aëones et formae nescio quae, et trinitas hominis apud Valentinum: Platonici fuerat. Inde Marcionis Deus melior de tranquillitate: A Stoicis venerat. Et ut anima interire dicatur, ab Epicureis observatur. Et ut carnis restitutio negetur, de una omnium philosophorum schola sumitur. Et ubi materia cum Deo aequatur, Zenonis disciplina est: et ubi aliquid de igneo Deo allegatur, Heraclitus intervenit. *De Pr. Hær. c. vii. p. 232. D. 203. Fr.*

(*y*) Hoc fecit infelix Valentinus, et Basilides. Hoc fecit et Marcion. Furati sunt isti

Epiphanius says, that (z) all heresies in general had arisen out of heathenish fables. But it hath been disputed among the moderns, from what philosophy chiefly the heretics borrowed. The origin of the Valentinian OEons in particular has been the subject of no small debate, and has afforded matter for the diligent enquiries of learned men.

Some have supposed that these notions were derived from the Jewish Cabbala. This however Massuet strongly opposes (a), and asserts, that Valentin (b) and his followers borrowed from the Gentile poets and philosophers.

SECT. XIV. *This variety of Opinion is no just Objection against the Truth of the Christian Religion.*

NO good argument can be drawn, from the number of SEC. 14. different opinions among Christians, to invalidate the truth of their common religion. Yet Celsus made this an objection to which Origen has (c) given a good reply.

He

isti linguas aureas de Jericho, et philosophorum nobis non rectas in ecclesias introducere conati sunt sectas, et polluere omnem ecclesiam Domini. *In Lib. Jes. Nave. Hom. vii. p. 414. D. T. ii. Bened.*

(z) Εκ γὰρ ἐλληνικῶν μυθῶν πασαι αἱ αἵρεσεις συναξασαι ἐαυταὶς τὴν πλάνην κατέβαλον. *Hæc. xxvi. n. xvi. p. 98. D.*

(a) Valentinianorum placita ex philosophia Hæbreorum Kabbalistica inferi, autoribus id gratis supponere placuit; quod ab ipso limine probandum erat, Kabbalam primo et secundo post Christum natum seculo notam fuisse. . . . Et certe quisquis de Kabbala mystica conscriptos libros adierit, aut peritiores e Rabbinis consuluerit, e vestigio

deprehendet admodum recentes esse, vixque ante annos quingentos aut sexcentos exarari potuisse. *Massuet in Iren. præ. p. xx. n. 21.*

(b) *Idem in Iren. lib. ii. c. 14.*

(c) Ἦρθε τοιοῦτο φησόμεν, ὅτι οὐδεὶς πρᾶγμα-
τος, ἢ μὴ σπένδαια εἶναι ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ τῷ βίῳ
χρησιμῶς, γενομένην αἵρεσις διαφέρει. ἐπεὶ γὰρ
ἰατρικὴ χρησιμῶς καὶ ἀναγκαῖα τῷ γένει τῶν ἀν-
θρώπων, . . . αἵρεσις ἐν ἰατρικῇ εὐρισκόντι πλεον-
ονες. . . . ἐπεὶ φιλοσοφία ἀληθεῖαν ἐπαγγέλλο-
μένη . . . πῶς δὲ βίῳ . . . αἵρεσις συνίστηται
πλεῖστα . . . καὶ Ἰουδαϊσμοῦ προφασιν εἶχε γι-
νεσθαι αἵρεσεων . . . ἢ τῷ τοιούτῳ χριστιανισμῶ . . .
ἀλλ' ἢ τ' ἰατρικὴν εὐλοῶς ἀντὶς φεῦλαι διὰ τὰς ἐν
αὐτῇ αἵρεσις ἢ τε φιλοσοφίαν τις ἀνμίστοι. ἢ τῶς
οὐδὲ καὶ ἀγνοῶντων τῶν Μωϋσεως καὶ τῶν προφητῶν
ἡρώων

OBSERVATIONS ON

He observes, " There never was any thing important in
 " itself, or promising great advantages to those who pursued it,
 " but different sentiments were formed about it. This is the
 " case with Physick, which is useful, and even necessary to
 " mankind: but considered either as a matter of science, or
 " practice, there are many different opinions concerning it.
 " The same is the case with philosophy, which proposes to
 " lead us to truth, and to teach us to live well. Yet even here
 " men differ very widely from one another. The same is the
 " case with judaism, out of which hath sprung a great variety
 " of sects. No wonder therefore that Christianity, a matter of
 " such infinite importance, could excite the speculations of
 " many, and cause different men to form different opinions
 " concerning some of its doctrines and discoveries. But as he
 " would not be reckoned a prudent man, who totally rejected
 " the use of physick, when sickness made it necessary, because
 " there were some differences in opinion, about the theory of
 " his disease; nor he a wise man, who abjured all philosophy,
 " because philosophers disagreed among themselves; so neither
 " would it be a mark of good sense, to reject the writings of
 " Moses and the Prophets, or to abjure Christianity, because of
 " some differences in opinion among their adherents."

We may perceive from many ancient catholic writers, that
 they themselves saw this difficulty, but they answered it very
 reasonably, in the following manner: That (*d*) these divi-
 fions

ερων βιβλιων. . . ο δ' εγκάλων τω λογῳ (ημέτερω)
 δια τας αιρεσεις. εἰκαλεσαι αν και τη Σωκράτους
 διδασκαλῳ. κ. τ. λ. *Contra Cels. l. iii. p.*
118. ed. Cantab. T. i. p. 454, 455. Bened.

Εἰπερ δὲ το εἶναι αιρεσεις πλειονας εν Χρησ-
 τοις, κατηγοριαν οἶσαι Χρηστιανισμῳ εἶναι· δια τι
 εχῃ και φιλοσοφίας κατηγορια. . . εν ταις αιρεσε-

σι των φιλοσοφηῶν διαφωνα, ε περι μικρων,
 και των τυκοῶν, αλλα περι των ανασκαιῶν;
 ωρα δε και ιατρικην κατηγορησθαι δια τας εν αυτῇ
 αιρεσεις. *Ibid. l. v. p. 271. ed. Cantab. T.*
i. p. 624. Bened.

(*d*) *Vid. Jus. Mar. Dial. cum Tryp. p.*
253. B. C. ed. Paris. p. 207-209. ed. Thirl.

Ante

sions were foretold by Christ himself, and his apostles ; and that differences of opinion had arisen about certain matters, in the times of the apostles and even of Christ himself. They further observed, that (*e*) when the refuse or chaff should be separated from the wheat, the church would become more pure. And though some of those in high stations should fall away, the rule of faith was the same, and remained equally (*f*) firm and stable as before. Since even in the mutilated copies of heretics (*g*), the most important doctrines still continued untouched.

The antient apologists for Christianity sometimes affirmed, that these differences of opinion were in the event serviceable to the interest of truth, and promoted the Christian cause. I formerly quoted (*b*) divers passages to this purpose from Augustin ;

Ante omnia scire nos convenit et ipsum et legatos ejus prædixisse, quod plurimæ sectæ et hæreses haberent existere, quæ concordiam sancti corporis rumperent, &c. *Lac. L. iv. C. xxx. p. 448. Min. 516.*

(*e*) Avolent quantum volent paleæ levis fidei, quocunque afflatu tentationum, eo purior massa frumenti in horrea Domini reponetur. Nonne ab ipso Domino quidam discipulorum scandalizati diverterunt? Nec tamen propterea cæteri quoque discedendum a vestigiis ejus putaverunt: sed qui scierunt illum vitæ esse verbum, et a Deo venisse, perseverarunt in comitatu ejus usque ad finem: cum illis, si vellent et ipsi discedere, placide obtulisset. Minus est si et apostolum ejus aliqui Phigellus, et Hermogenes, et Philetus, et Hymenæus reliquerunt. Ipse traditor Christi de apostolis fuit. Miramur de ecclesiis ejus, si a quibusdam deseruntur: . . . Quin potius memores simus, tam Dominicarum prænuntiationum, quam apostolicarum literarum, quæ nobis et futuras hæ-

reses prænuntiarunt, et fugiendas præfinierunt, &c. *Tert. de Pr. Hær. C. iii, iv. p. 231. Fran. 202.*

(*f*) Solent quidem isti infirmiores etiam de quibusdam personis ab hæresi captis edificari in ruinam: quare ille vel illa fidelissimi, prudentissimi, et usitatissimi in Ecclesia, in illam partem transierunt? *Ibid. C. iii. p. 230. D. Fran. 201.*

Quid ergo si Episcopus, si Diaconus, si Vidua, si Virgo, si Doctor, si etiam Martyr lapsus a regula fuerit, ideo hæreses veritatem videbuntur obtinere? Ex personis probamus fidem, an ex fide personas? Nemo sapiens est nisi fidelis. *Ibid. C. iii. p. 231. A. Fran. 201.*

(*g*) Misereor tui, Marcion, frustra laborasti; Christus enim Jesus in Evangelio tuo meus est. *Idem Adv. Mar. L. iv. C. xliii. ad finem. p. 451. Fr.*

(*b*) *Part II. vol. vi. p. 419, 420. Notes (o) and (p).*

gustin; I shall now add a few more from him, and some other writers.

He, in particular, having spoken of Marcion and some other heretics, observes (*i*), that this disagreement in opinion, was of advantage to the catholic cause, since by means of this opposition between different sects, the truth was more fully cleared, better understood and defended. In another place, where the title of the chapter is, that the catholic faith is strengthened by the dissentions of heretics, he observes (*k*), that this, though an evil in itself, yet turned out in the end to be advantageous to the faithful, by exercising their patience, and encreasing their wisdom. It also gave occasion to the clearing up those points (*l*), which were not so well understood before (*m*).

Clemens

(*i*) Illa vero batilla ærea, id est hæreticorum voces, si adhibeamus ad altare Dei, ubi divinus ignis est, ubi vera Dei prædicatio, melius ipsa veritas ex falsorum comparatione fulgebit. Si enim, ut verbi gratia dicam, ponam dicta Marcionis, aut Basilidis, aut alterius cujuslibet hæretici, et hæc sermonibus veritatis, et scripturarum divinarum testimoniis velut divini altaris igne contuleris: Nonne evidentior eorum ex ipsa comparatione apparebit impietas? Nam si doctrina simplex esset, et nullis extrinsecus hæreticorum dogmatum assertionibus cingeretur, non poterat tam clara et tam examinata videri fides nostra. Sed idcirco doctrinam catholicam contradicentium obsidet oppugnatio ut fides nostra non otio torpescat, sed exercitiis elimaretur. *Aug. in Num. Hom. vii. T. ii. p. 296. C. D. T. x. ser. 98. p. 270. Ven.*

(*k*) Etiam sic quippe veris illis catholicis membris Christi malo suo profunt. Inimici enim omnes ecclesiæ quolibet errore cæcuntur, vel malitia depraventur, si accipiant potestatem corporaliter affligendi, exercent ejus patientiam, si tantummodo malè sentiendo adversantur, exercent ejus sapientiam.

De Civ. Dei. T. v. L. xviii. C. li. p. 184. Venet.

(*l*) Etenim hæreticis asserta est Catholica Ecclesia, et ex his qui male sentiunt, probati sunt qui bene sentiunt. Multa enim latebant in scripturis, et cum præcisi essent hæretici, quæstionibus agitaverunt ecclesiam Dei. Aperta sunt quæ latebant, et intellecta est voluntas Dei.—Ergo multi qui optime poterant scripturis dignoscere et pertractare, latebant in populo Dei; nec asseriebant solutionem quæstionum difficilium, cum calumniator nullus instaret. Num quid enim perfecte de Trinitate tractatum est, antequam oblatrarent Arriani? Nunquid perfecte de pœnitentia, antequam obsisterent Novatiani? Sic non perfecte de baptismo tractatum est antequam contradicerent foris positi rebaptizatores. *Ejusdem Enar. in Ps. liv. T. iv. p. 22. vel T. viii. p. 177. 3. Venet.*

(*m*) Multi enim sensus scripturarum sanctarum latent, et paucis intelligentioribus noti sunt, nec asseruntur commodius et acceptabilius, nisi cum respondendi hæreticis cura compellit. Tunc enim etiam qui negligunt studia doctrinæ, sopore discusso,

ad

Clemens of Alexandria had long before met with this objection, taken from the variety of opinions among Christians, and urged by both Jews and Gentiles, as a sufficient reason against embracing the gospel. The sum of what he says, which the reader will find at large in the note (n) below, is to this purpose. "That among the Jews there were several sects. And among the Greeks, the followers of their most admired philosophers were split into a variety of opinions. That our Lord himself had foretold, that tares should grow up among the wheat; and that corruptions will always creep into the best things. Among physicians also, there are divers prescriptions and opinions, and different methods of cure: yet no sick person would on this account decline the use of physic, when his health could be thereby restored." He therefore concludes with asserting, "That it was very weak and absurd to urge such objections as these, against embracing those truths, which tend to correct and purify the bad dispositions of the soul."

I 2

There

ad audiendi excitantur diligentiam, ut adversarii refellantur. Denique quam multi scripturarum sanctarum sensus de Christo Deo asserti sunt contra Photinum? Quam multi de homine Christo contra Manichæum? Quam multi de trinitate contra Sabelium? Quam multi de unitate trinitatis contra Arrianos, Eunomianos, Macedonianos, &c. *Ejusdem Enar. in Ps. lxvii. T. iv. p. 39. vel T. viii. p. 236.*

(n) Επειδή δε ακολουθον εστι πρὸς τα ὑπο Ἑλλήνων καὶ Ἰουδαίων ἐπιφερομένα ἡμῖν ἐκλήματα ἀπολοῖσθαι—Πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοῦ τὸ πρῶτον σὺν ἡμῖν, λεγοντες, μὴ δεῖν πιστεῦναι, διὰ τὴν διαφωνίαν τῶν αἰρέσεων; παρὰ τὴν γὰρ καὶ ἡ ἀληθεῖα, ἀλλὰ ἀλλὰ δογματίζοντων. πρὸς ὅς φαμεν, ὅτι καὶ παρὰ ὑμῖν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, καὶ παρὰ τοῖς δοκιμωμένοις τῶν παρὰ Ἑλλήσι φιλοσόφων, παμ-

πολλοὶ γέγονασι αἵρεσεις. Καὶ ὡς δὴ πᾶσι φατε δεῖν οἰκεῖν, ἥτοι φιλοσοφεῖν ἢ Ἰουδαίζειν, τῆς διαφωνίας ἐνεκα τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους τῶν παρὰ ὑμῖν αἰρέσεων. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐπισπαρῆσθαι τὰς αἵρεσεις τὴν ἀληθειᾶν, καθάπερ τὸ πυρὶ τὰ ζιζάνια, πρὸς τὴν Κυρίῃ προφθίμως εἰσῆλθαι; καὶ ἀδυνατῶν μὴ γινεσθαι τὸ προεξηγούμενον εἶσθαι. καὶ τῆς ἡ ἀλήθειας, ὅτι πάλιν τὸ καλὸν μωμῶν ἐπιταί. — Ἡδὲ καὶ ὡς ἐν πλάτῃ χειμενοῖς τῇδε τῇ ἀπολοσίᾳ, ἐνεργεῖ φανταί πρὸς αὐτοῦς, ὅτι καὶ οἱ ἰατροὶ ἐναντίας διζῶντες κεκτῆμενοι, κατὰ τὰς οἰκίας αἵρεσεις, ἐπ' ἰσῆς ἐργῶν δεξαμένους· μὴτι ἐν καμνῶν τις τὸ σῶμα καὶ δεξαμένης δεόμενός, ὡς προσίεται ἰατρὸν, διατὰς ἐν τῇ ἰατρικῇ αἵρεσεις; ἢ ἀρὰ εἴθε ὁ τῆς ψυχῆς νοσῶν καὶ εἰδῶν ἐμπλεὺς ἐνεκα γὰρ τῆς υγιαιῖναι, καὶ εἰς Θεὸν ἐπιτρέψαι, πρὸς τὰς αἵρεσεις. κ. λ. *Strom. L. vii. p. 753. B. C. D. 754. A. p. 886, 887. edit. Potteri.*

SEC. 14.

There are two observations which seem naturally to arise from the matters treated of in this section. The first is: Heresies were so far from being really detrimental to the cause of christianity, that they proved of great service to it. For those alterations which Marcion, and Apelles, and some others, made in their copies, in order to suit them to their several opinions, must have put the catholic Christians early upon their guard, and induced them to preserve, with the greatest care, their copies genuine and entire; in order to show the falsity of those notions, which their opposers had embraced, and the sinister arts they made use of, by corrupting and mutilating the sacred writings, the better to conceal the erroneousness of their opinions, and their inconsistency with the genuine dictates of divine revelation. A practice thus represented as base in their opponents, and continually held up to public view in all their treatises against heretics, as most vile, they themselves would be sure to avoid with the greatest caution.

Secondly, The many heretics which we now hear of, and the number and variety of divisions, which there were of old among Christians, may serve to satisfy us, that the religion of Jesus had made great progress in the world. Besides the more regular and orthodox professors, there were divers others, who made a shift to form societies, and to create trouble to the main body of Christians. This may convince us, that, altogether, they must amount to a very great number. At the same time, this diversity of opinion is so far from overthrowing the truth of the Christian religion, that it greatly confirms it. For it is to be observed, that all these, though cordially hating one another on account of their mutual opposition, and though differing from each other in a multitude of more minute circumstances, still agreed in the main points. As is very apparent from several preceding articles.

S E C T.

SECT. XV. *Curiosity and an inquisitiveness of mind were dispositions frequently indulged by Heretics.*

HERETICS were in the general, men of a curious and in- SEC. 15.
quisitive turn of mind, and greatly indulged this disposition; which led them to speculate upon many points of doctrine, concerning which the scriptures had afforded little or no light: which however, according to the philosophy then in vogue, and with which their minds were but too deeply tinctured (*o*), were esteemed matters of importance, and points that would lead them to many curious and sublime speculations. By giving way to these, they imbibed a set of notions, which were dignified with the name of wisdom, and which they regarded as true. And unhappily set about engrafting these on the religion of Jesus, to which they were by no means suitable. When the scriptures were in some cases plainly inconsistent with these notions, they were for making them yield to their philosophical opinions (*p*). Thus the simplicity of truth was banished, and endless divisions arose. Though in many cases their curiosity and inquisitiveness were carried to an improper extent; yet they set out with just views, in order to have

(*o*) Hæ sunt doctrinæ hominum et dæmoniorum, prurientibus auribus natæ de ingenio sapientiæ secularis, quam Dominus stultitiam vocans, stulta mundi in confusionem etiam philosophiæ ipsius elegit. Ea est enim materia sapientiæ secularis, temeraria interpres divinæ naturæ et dispositionis. Ipsæ denique hæreses a philosopha subornantur. Inde Cæones et formæ, nescio quæ, et

trinitas hominis apud Valentinum, &c. *Ter. De Pr. H. C. vii. p. 232. D. Fran. p. 203. Vid. sup. p. 54 Note (x).*

(*p*) This will plainly appear hereafter in the instance of Marcion, and some others, who rejected many particular passages in the new testament, as well as three of the gospels, and the whole old testament, in order the better to establish their peculiarities.

SEC. 15. have a rational and firm foundation for their faith: and they called upon the catholic Christians to examine, that they might also be well established in their belief. This is testified by Tertullian (*q*) in a great variety of places.

The catholics said, that they likewise were for enquiry and examination into the foundation of their faith (*r*). But when once they had received the Christian religion as coming from God,

(*q*) Cum enim quærant adhuc, nondum tenent: cum autem non tenent, nondum crediderunt: cum autem nondum crediderunt, non sunt Christiani. At cum tenent quidem et credunt, quærendum tamen dicunt, ut defendant: antequam defendant, negant quod credunt; confitentes se nondum credidisse dum quærant. *De Pr. Hær. C. xiv. p. 236. B. Fran. 205.*

Ceterum si quia alia tanta ab aliis sunt instituta, propterea in tantum quærere debemus, in quantum possumus invenire, semper quæremus, et nunquam omnino credemus. Ubi enim erit finis quærendi? Ubi statio credendi? Ubi expunctio inveniendi? Apud Marcionem? Sed et Valentinus proponit, Quærite et invenietis. Apud Valentinum? Sed et Apelles hac me pronuntiatione pulsabit, et Ebion, et Simon, et omnes ordine non habent aliud quo se mihi insinuantes me sibi addicant. *Ibid. C. x. p. 234. C. D. Fran. 204.*

Venio itaque ad illum articulum, quem et nostri prætendunt ad ineundam curiositatem, et hæretici inculcant ad importandam scrupulositatem. Scriptum est, inquiunt, Quærite et invenietis. *Ibid. C. viii. p. 233. B. Fran. 203.*

Notata sunt etiam commercia hæreticorum cum magis quampluribus, cum circulatoribus, cum astrologis, cum philosophis curiositati scilicet deditis. Quærite et invenietis, ubique meminerunt. *Ibid. C. xliii. p. 248. B. Fran. 213.*

Nam et Mathematici plurimum Marcionitæ: nec hoc erubescens de ipsis etiam stellis vivere creatoris. *Adv. Mar. L. i. C. xviii. p. 442. B. Fran. 358.*

(*r*) Omnibus dictum sit, Quærite et invenietis.—Sed in primis hoc propono, unum utique et certum aliquid institutum esse a Christo, quod credere omni modo debeant nationes, et idcirco quærere, ut possint cum invenerint credere. Unius porro et certi instituti infinita inquisitio non potest esse: quærendum est donec invenias, et credendum, ubi inveneris: et nihil amplius nisi custodiendum quod credidisti: dum hoc insuper credis, aliud non esse credendum, ideoque nec requirendum, cum id inveneris et credideris, quod ab eo institutum est, qui non aliud tibi mandat inquirendum quam quod instituit. *De Pr. Hær. C. ix. p. 234. Fr. 204.*

Nobis curiositate opus non est post Christum Jesum, nec inquisitione post evangelium. Cum credimus nihi desideramus ultra credere. Hoc enim prius credimus, non esse quod ultra credere debeamus. *Ibid. C. viii. p. 233. Fran. 203.*

Fides in regula posita est. . . . Cedat curiositas fidei, cedat gloria salutis. Certe aut non obstrepant, aut quiescant, adversus regulam. Nihil ultra scire, omnia scire est. *Ibid. C. xiv. p. 236. Fran. 205.*

God, they thought they ought to be satisfied, and to suppress all further enquiries : because it did not appear to them a right method, to mix philosophical speculations with the plain facts, and important discoveries of the gospel.

SECT. XVI. *Heretics were not in general sollicitous about little matters, and were moderate towards those who differed from them.*

THINGS which related to external order (*s*), and church discipline, were not the things which greatly drew the attention of those called heretics. They regarded these, as matters of rather a trifling nature : such for instance, as not keeping up regular orders (*t*), and different classes, among the several members of the churches ; such as admitting Catechumens to be present (*u*) while the Lord's supper was administering, and permitting even heathens to remain in their churches (*x*) while these religious services were carrying on. This it should seem, was contrary to the custom of the catholic Christians.

They

(*s*) Non omittam ipsius etiam conversationis hæreticæ descriptionem, quam futilis, quam terrena, quam humana sit ; sine gravitate, sine auctoritate, sine disciplina, ut fidei suæ congruens. In primis quis Catechumenus, quis fidelis, incertum est. Pariter adeunt, pariter audiunt, pariter orant. *Ter. De Hær. C. xli. p. 247. Fran. 213.*

(*t*) Nunc neophytos conlocant, nunc seculo obstrictos, nunc apostatas nostros, ut gloria eos obligent, quia veritate non possunt. Nusquam facilius proficitur, quam in castris rebellium, ubi ipsum esse illic promereri est. Itaque alius hodie episcopus, cras alius :

hodie diaconus, qui cras lector : hodie presbyter, qui cras Laicus. Nam et Laicis sacerdotalia munera injungunt. *Ibid.*

Simplicitatem volunt esse prostrationem disciplinæ, cujus penes nos curam lenocinium vocant. *Ibid.*

(*u*) Μυστηρια δε δεθεν παρ' αὐτῶ ἐπιτελεῖται, τῶν κατήχημένων ὁρῶντων. *Epipha. Hær. xlii. n. iii. p. 304. B.*

(*x*) Etiam ethnici si supervenerint, sanctum canibus, et porcis margaritas licet non veras jactabunt. *Ter. De Pr. H. C. xli. p. 247. Fran. 213.*

They also formed churches (*y*), each according to his own plan, both as to discipline and doctrine. And this variety, the catholics unreasonably objected to, as a mark of error (*z*), forgetting that the very same arguments, which they used against the heathens, might be retorted upon themselves with equal force by the heretics. They however (*a*) bear witness to the moderation and charity, which these people manifested in their religious differences with each other. Whilst they ascribe this good temper, very uncharitably, to their desire of making an united opposition to the truth.

SECT. XVII. *Pernicious consequences, supposed to arise from some of their doctrines, were charged upon them; though they did not admit them.*

SEC. 17. ONE of the calumnies, thrown out against some of the ancient heretics by their enemies, was (*b*), that they considered themselves as bound by no law, and therefore gave themselves

(*y*) Ceterum nec suis præsidibus reverentiam noverunt.—A regulis suis variant inter se, dum unusquisque proinde suo arbitrio modulatur quæ accepit, quemadmodum de suo arbitrio ea composuit ille qui tradidit.—Idem licuit Valentinianis quod Valentino, idem Marcionitis quod Marcioni, de arbitrio suo fidem innovare. Denique penitus inspectæ hærefes omnes, in multis cum auctoribus suis dissentientes deprehenduntur. Plerique nec ecclesias habent, sine matre, sine sede, orbi fide, extorres sine lare vagantur. *Ibid. C. xlii. p. 248. A. B. Fran. 213.*

(*z*) Nihil enim interest illis licet diversa tractantibus, dum ad unius veritatis expugnationem conspirent. Omnes tument, omnes scientiam pollicentur. Ante sunt per-

fecti catechumeni, quam edocti. Ipsæ mulieres hæreticæ quam procaces, quæ audeant docere, contendere, exorcismos agere, curationes repromittere, forsitan et tingere. Ordinationes eorum temerariæ, leves, inconstantes. *Ibid. C. xli. p. 247. Fran. 213.*

(*a*) Schismata apud hæreticos fere non sunt: quia cum sint, non patent schismata: est enim unitas ipsa. *Ibid. C. xlii.*

Pacem quoque passim cum omnibus miscent. Nihil enim interest, &c. *Ibid. C. xli.*

(*b*) Negant Deum timendum, itaque libera sunt illis omnia et soluta. *Ter. De Pr. H. C. xliii. p. 248. B. Fran. 213.*

Sic enim neque æmulatur, neque irascitur, neque damnat, neque vexat, utpote qui nec judicem præstat; non invenio quomodo illi disciplinarum ratio consistat.—Quale est enim

selves a licence to sin. This their adversaries pretended to have a sufficient foundation for, because Marcion and his followers had said (*c*), that God needed not to be *feared*, meaning the good God. Though Tertullian declaims vehemently against this principle, especially if it should be considered by any, as (*d*) affording a ground, on which to build the impious consequences before mentioned. Yet it appears from the very place (*e*) where he is arguing against it, as held by Marcion, that those consequences drawn from it in favour of a licence for sinning, were never allowed by him, and were contrary to his avowed opinion, and settled practice. For Tertullian's view is, to prove the absurdity of the principle, from the vir-

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tue

enim ut præcepta constituat non executurus? ut delicta prohibeat non vindicaturus? quia non judicaturus: extraneus scilicet ab omnibus sensibus severitatis et animadversionis. Cur enim prohibet admitti, quod non defendit admissum? . . . Immo et permisisse directo debuit, sine causa prohibitorius, non ut defensor. *Ejusdem adv. Mar. L. i. C. xxvi. p. 449. D. Fran. 363.*

Aut si hoc erit divinæ virtutis, sive bonitatis, nolle quidem fieri, et prohibere fieri, non moveri tamen si fiat. *Ibid.*

Atquin nihil Deo tam indignum, quam non exequi quod noluit et prohibuit admitti. *Ibid. p. 450.*

Sed judicat plane malum nolendo, et damnat prohibendo: dimittit autem non vindicando, et absolvit non puniendo. *Ibid. C. xxvii. p. 450. Fran. 364.*

(*c*) Atque adeo præ se ferunt Marcionitæ, quod Deum suum omnino non timeant. Malus autem inquit timebitur, bonus autem diligetur. *Ibid. C. xxvii. p. 450. Fr. 364.*

Nisi quod Marcion Deum suum timeri negat, dicens bonum non timeri, sed vindi-

cem tantum apud quem ira æstuat. *Ibid. p. 510. Fran. 424.*

Sane nominatur mitissimus Deus quia nec judicat nec irascitur. *Ibid. L. iv. C. xix. p. 509. Fran. 423.*

(*d*) Audite peccatores, quique nondum hoc estis, ut esse possitis: Deus melior inventus est, qui nec offenditur, nec irascitur, nec ulciscitur, cui nullus ignis coquitur in Gehenna; cui nullus dentium frendor horret in exterioribus tenebris; bonus tantum est. Denique prohibet delinquere, sed in literis solis. In vobis est, si velitis, illi obsequium subsignare, ut honorem Deo habuisse videamini: timorem enim non vult. *Ibid. L. i. C. xxvii. p. 450. Fran. 364.*

(*e*) Age itaque qui Deum non times quasi bonum, quid non in omnem libidinem ebullis?—Quid non frequentas tam solennes voluptates circi furentis, et cavæ sævientis, et scenæ lascivientis? Quid non et in persecutionibus statim oblata acerra animam negatione lucraris? Absit, inquis, absit. Ergo jam times delictum, et timendo probasti illum timeri, qui prohibet delictum. *Ibid. p. 450. Fr. 364.*

tue and integrity of Marcion's own conduct. It should therefore seem probable in this instance, as well as in some others, that the true import and meaning of his principles, were either mistaken, or misrepresented, by his adversaries.

SECT. XVIII. *The seeds of these Heresies were sown in the days of the Apostles.*

SEC. 18. SEVERAL of the antient fathers (*f*) understand the apostle Paul, as referring to some appearances of this kind, when he exhorts (*g*) the primitive Christians, to avoid philosophy, and questions about endless genealogies, and oppositions of science falsely so called.

Eusebius relates that Ignatius (*b*) in his way from Antioch to Rome exhorted the churches to beware of the heresies which

(*f*) Hinc illæ fabulæ et genealogiæ interminabiles, et quæstiones infructuosæ, et sermones serpentes velut cancer, a quibus nos apostolus refrænans, nominatim philosophiam contestatur caveri oportere, scribens ad Colossenses. *Ter. De Pr. Hær. C. vii. p. 233. A. Fran. 203.*

Adhibeo super hæc ipsarum doctrinarum recognitionem, quæ tunc sub apostolis fuerunt, ab iisdem apostolis demonstratæ.—Paulus in prima ad Corinthios epistola notat negatores et dubitatores resurrectionis. Hæc opinio propria Sadducæorum: partem ejus usurpat Marcion, et Apelles, et Valentinus.—Ad Galatas scribens invehitur in observatores et defensores circumcisionis et legis. Hebionis hæresis est. Timotheum instruens nuptiarum quoque interdictores suggillat: ita instituunt Marcion, et Apelles ejus secutor.—Et cum genealogias indeterminatas nominat, Valentinus agnoscitur.—Joannes vero in apocalypsi idolothyta

edentes et stupra committentes jubetur castigare. Sunt et nunc alii Nicolaitæ. Caiena hæresis dicitur. *Ibid. C. 33. p. 243. D. 244. A. Fran. 210.*

Επι την αληθειαν παραπεμπομενοι τινες, επιστασιν λογους ψευδεις και γενεαλογιας ματαιας, αι τινες ζηησεις πολλων παρεχουσι, καθως ο αποστολος φησιν, η οικοδομην θεου την εν πιστει. κ. τ. λ. *Iren. adv. Hær. L. i. præ. in.*

Dubitabitne idem pronuntiare, has esse fabulas et genealogias indeterminatas, quas apostoli spiritus his jam tunc pullulantibus feminibus hæreticis, damnare prævenit. *Tert. Adv. Valen. C. iii. p. 284. Fran. 284.*

(*g*) *Col. ii. 8. 1 Tim. vi. 20. C. i. 4. 2 Tim. ii. 16, 17. Tit. iii. 9.*

(*b*) Εν πρωτοις μαλιστα προφυλαττεισθαι τας αιρεσεις, αρτι τοτε πρωτον αναφυνισας και επιπολαζουσας παρηνει. *Hif. Eccl. L. iii. C. xxxvi. p. 130. ed. Reading.*

which were then springing up, and which would increase; and that he afterwards wrote his epistles, in order to guard them against these corruptions, and to confirm them in the faith.

This opinion, that the foundation of these heresies was laid in the times of the apostles, and sprang up immediately after, is an opinion probable in itself, and is embraced by several learned moderns; particularly by Vitringa (*i*), and by the late Rev. Mr. Brekel, of Liverpool (*k*).

(*i*) Ita enim ubi Paulus in ep. 1ma. ad Tim. C. vi. 20. dehortatur ab *αντιθεσει της ψευδωνυμης γνωσεως*, *oppositis parallelismis scientiæ falso sic dictæ, et a fabulis et γενεαλογικαις απερανταις successionibus infinitis*. 1 Tim. i. 4. non est ideo quo illud commodius referri queat quam ad subtilissimas disputationes de divinitate ejusque variis emanationibus, quibus se Judæi, alique Platonice et Pythagoricæ philosophiæ studiosi occupatos habebant, et in quibus arcane et sublimioris scientiæ maximam constituebant partem. Quo modo etiam Irenæus et Tertullianus Pauli mentem accepisse, et mihi recte quidem accepisse videntur. Vid. Ter. De Pr. Hæ. C. xxxiii. p. 244. A. Et Iren. adv. Hæ. L. i. in præ. in. Vitringæ obs. in Tit. iii. 9. Tom. ii. p. 161.

(*k*) In his answer to Mr. Deacon, against the pretended purity of the three first

centuries, he observes, that if this point were thoroughly examined, it would appear that the Christian church preserved her virgin purity no longer than the apostolic age, at least if we may give credit to Hegesippus. Vid. Euf. H. E. L. iii. C. 32.

Another antient writer, Paphias by name, speaks of some persons in his time, who inculcated other precepts than those that were delivered by the Lord, and proceeded from the truth itself. Ap. Eu. Ibid. C. xxxix. p. 111. A. To mention the corruptions and innovations in religion of the four first centuries, is wholly superfluous; when it is so very notorious, that even before the reign of Constantine, there sprang up a kind of heathenish Christianity, which mingled itself with the true Christian religion. Socr. H. Ec. L. i. C. 22. Brekel's MS.

THE HISTORY OF THE
CITY OF BOSTON
FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENT
TO THE PRESENT TIME
BY NATHANIEL BENTLEY
IN TWO VOLUMES
VOL. II.

HISTORY OF HERETICS, &c.

BOOK THE SECOND.

CHAP. I.

Of SATURNINUS.

SECT. I. *Of his Opinions as given us by Irenæus.*

IRENÆUS having given some account of Simon and Me-^{SECT. I.}
nander, proceeds: From (*a*) these Saturninus of Antioch,
and Basilides of Alexandria, took occasion to form different
schemes.

(*a*) Ex iis Saturninus, qui fuit ab Antiochia ea, quæ est apud Daphnen, et Basilides, occasiones accipientes, distantes doctrinas ostenderunt: alter quidem in Syria, alter vero in Alexandria. Saturninus quidem, similiter ut Menander, unum Patrem incognitum omnibus ostendit, qui fecit angelos, archangelos, virtutes, potestates. A septem autem quibusdam angelis mundum factum, et omnia quæ in eo. Hominem autem angelorum esse facturam, defursum a summa potestate lucida imagine ap-

parente.—Salvatorem autem innatum demonstravit et incorporalem, et sine figura, putitative autem visum hominem. Et Judæorum Deum unum ex angelis esse dixit. Et propter hoc quod dissolvere voluerint patrem ejus omnes principes, advenisse Christum ad destructionem Judæorum Dei, et ad salutem credentium ei; esse autem hos qui habent scintillam vitæ ejus. Duo enim genera hic primus hominum plasmata esse ab angelis dixit: alterum quidem nequam, alterum autem bonum. Et quoniam
niam

SECT. I. schemes. Saturninus, like Menander, held one Father, unknown to all, who made angels, archangels, principalities and powers. He said, that the world and all things therein were made by certain seven angels. Man too was made by them. The Saviour he taught to be unbegotten, and incorporeal, and that he was man in appearance only. The God of the Jews, he says, was one of the angels. And because all the principalities opposed his Father, Christ came to the overthrow of the God of the Jews, and for the salvation of those who believe in him, which are such as have in them the spark of life. For this person first taught, that there are two kinds of men made by the angels, some good, others bad. And because demons assisted the worst, the Saviour came to the condemnation of bad men and demons, and to the salvation of good men. He says, that marriage and generation are of Satan. And many of his followers abstain from animal food, by such a feigned temperance deceiving many. They will have it, that some prophecies came from the angels who made the world; others from Satan, whom they also reckon an adversary to the Maker of the world, especially to the God of the Jews.

niam dæmones pessimos adjuvant, venisse salvatorem ad dissolutionem malorum hominum, et dæmoniorum, ad salutem autem bonorum. Nubere autem et generare, a Satana dicunt esse. Multi autem qui sunt ab eo et ab animalibus abstinent, per fictam hujusmodi continentiam seducetes multos.

Prophetias autem quasdam quidem ab iis angelis, qui mundum fabricaverint, dictas, quasdam autem a Satana: quem et ipsum angelum adversarium mundi fabricatoribus ostendit, maxime autem Judæorum Deo. *Iren. L. i. C. 24: al. xxii. n. i, ii. p. 100, 101.*

SECT. II. *He was an obscure person, and had probably but few followers.*

I HAVE thought it not amiss to transcribe this article of SECT. 2.
Irenæus, hoping that we may make some good use of it in the chapter of Basilides. For I do not intend to enlarge on the history of Saturninus, because he was a very obscure person, and his opinions were so much like those of Basilides.

Beaufobre observes, that (*b*) Clement of Alexandria, makes no mention at all of Menander and Saturninus. For which reason he concludes, that they made very little figure in the world, and had but few followers.

Saturninus, however, called by some Saturnilus, is in most writers of heresies. Epiphanius makes very little addition to Irenæus. And at the beginning of his article uses an expression denoting (*c*) his obscurity. Theodoret (*d*) seems to transcribe Irenæus. And the accounts of (*e*) Philaster and (*f*) Augustin, are so much like the rest, that I shall only refer to them. It will be proper just to mention in this place the order of the most early heretics. In Irenæus (*g*) they stand thus: Simon, Menander, Saturninus, Basilides, Carpocrates. In Epiphanius; Simon, Menander, Saturnilus, Basilides, the Nicolaitans, the Gnostics, the Carpocratians; which order is also observed by Augustin. Theodoret's is the same with that of Irenæus. In Philaster, it is Simon, Menander, Saturninus, Basilides, Nicolaitans.

(*b*) *Hist. Manich. T. ii. p. 1. fin.*

(*c*) Μετα τῶν σαδουκῶν τις ἀνεστῆ. *H. xxiii. C. i. in.*

(*d*) *H. Fab. L. i. C. iii.*

(*e*) *Cap. xxxi.*

(*f*) *Aug. Cap. iii.*

(*g*) *Lib. i. Cap. xxiii—xxv.*

CHAP. II.

Of BASILIDES.

SECT. I. *Of his Time.*

SECT. I. **I** PROCEED to Basilides, who in all the writers quoted in the last chapter is the third in order among christian heretics, and next after Saturninus. Epiphanius expressly says, that these two were fellow-disciples (*b*). And Eusebius, agreeably to Irenæus, as before transcribed, and possibly to other ancient writers whom he had read, says, that (*i*) from Menander, successor of Simon, proceeded two leaders of heresies, Saturninus of Antioch, and Basilides of Alexandria, who set up schools of their hateful doctrine, one in Syria, the other in Egypt. And I before gave an account from Eusebius of a work of Agrippa Castor against Basilides, supposed to have been written about the year 132, or some short time after.

Though learned moderns may not exactly agree about the time of Basilides, the difference between them is not very great. Tillemont thinks, Basilides (*k*) left the church in the time of Trajan, and appeared chiefly in the time of Adrian. Basnage (*l*) speaks of him at the year 121. Mill (*m*) supposeth

(*b*) Δυο γὰρ ὅτε· ἐγενόητο συσχολάζειν, βασιλίδης καὶ σατορνιλῶ. *H. xxiii. n. i. in.*

(*i*) Ἀπο γέν τε μενανδρῶ, οὐ διαδοχόν τε σιμωνῶ· ἡδὴ πρότερον παρὰ δαδωκαμέν, ἀμφιστομῶ· ὡσπερ καὶ δικεφαλῶ· οὐβιδῆς τις προελθούσα δύνα-

μις, δύνει αἰρέσεων διαφορῶν ἀρχή τις καλεσθησαίτο. *H. E. L. iv. C. vii. p. 147. ed. Reading.*

(*k*) *Mem. Ecc. Sub. Tra.*

(*l*) *Vid. Basnag. ann. 121. n. vi.*

(*m*) *Proleg. n. 264.*

poseth him to have flourished about 123. Cave (*n*) about 112, SECT. 1.
or soon after. Grabe says, Basilides (*o*) began to spread his
notions in the time of Trajan, but chiefly under Adrian, and
probably did not die before the beginning of the reign of Anto-
nine the Pious. Which account cannot be much amiss. It
is plain from the order of the most early heresies before taken
notice of, that Basilides must have lived near the times of the
apostles: as is also observed by the ancient author of (*p*) the acts
of Archelaus. And by Clement of Alexandria we are informed,
that (*q*) Basilides, or his followers, boasted, that he had been
taught by Glaucias, a disciple of St. Peter. Where likewise
Clement supposeth, that Basilides arose in the time of Adrian,
and reached to Antonine the Pious, who did not begin his
reign before the year 138. Theodoret says, that Menander
was master to Saturninus and Basilides, and that (*r*) both were
in the time of Adrian.

SECT. II. *The Account of him as given by Irenaeus
and other antient Authors.*

HAVING said thus much concerning the time of Basilides, SECT. 2.
I return to Irenæus, who immediately after the above
cited passage relating to Saturninus, inserted in the foregoing
L chapter

(*n*) Claruit circa ann. 112. juxta alios
aliquanto serius. Vixit præcipue sub Ha-
driano, et sub imperii ejus extrema, saltem
ineunte principatum ejus successore, obiisse
videtur. *Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 49.*

(*o*) Cæpit enim hæresin condere sub
Trajano, et propagavit sub Hadriano, uti
prolixè contra Dallæum probavit Pearsoni-
us. *P. 2. Vindic. Ignat. cap. vii.* Imo
et tunc mortuum esse idem vult. Ast
quicquid hujus rei sit, id certum est sub
Hadriano maxime floruisse infelicem illam
plantam. *Grab. Spic. T. ii. p. 36.*

(*p*) Fuit — Basilides antiquior, non
longe post nostrorum Apostolorum tempora.
Arch. p. 101.

(*q*) Κατω δε, περι της αδριανου τε βασιλειως
χρονης οι τας αιρεσεις επινοησαντες γεγονασι,
και μεχρι γε της αντωνιου τε πρεσβυτερου διατειναν
ηλικιας, καθαπερ ο βασιλειδης, και γλαυκίαν
επιγραφηται διδασκαλον, ως αυχουσιν αυτοι, τον
πετρον εμυνηα. *Cl. Str. p. 764. D.*

(*r*) Αμφω δε επι αδριανου τε καισαρος εγενοντο.
H. F. l. i. c. 3. p. 193. D.

SECT. 2. chapter (f), proceeds: "But Basilides, that he might appear to have a more sublime and more probable scheme, went much farther, and taught, that from the self-existent father was born Nus or Understanding, of Nus Logos, of Logos Phronesis, Prudence or Providence, of Phronesis Sophia and Dunamis, Wisdom

(f) Basilides autem, ut altius aliquid et verisimilius invenisse videatur, in immensum extendit sententiam doctrinae suae, ostendens Nun primo ab innato natum Patre, ab hoc autem natum Logon, deinde a Logo Phronesin, a Phronesi autem Sophian et Dunamin, a Dunami autem et Sophia Virtutes, et Principes, et Angelos, quos et primos vocat, et ab iis primum coelum factum. Dehinc ab horum derivatione alios autem factos, aliud coelum simile priori fecisse. . . . aliud tertium deformasse coelum, et a tertio deorsum descendendum quartum, et deinceps secundum eum modum alteros et alteros Principes et angelos factos esse dicunt, et coelos cccxv. Qua propter et tot dies habere annum, secundum numerum coelorum. Eos autem qui posterius continent coelum angelos, quod etiam a nobis videtur, constituisse ea quae sunt in mundo omnia, et partes sibi fecisse terrae, et earum quae super eam sunt gentium. Esse autem principem ipsorum eum, qui Judaeorum putatur esse Deus. Et quoniam hic suis hominibus, id est Judaeis, voluit subicere reliquas gentes, reliquos omnes principes restitisse ei, et contra egisse. Innatum autem et innominatum patrem videntem perditionem ipsorum misisse primogenitum Nun suum (et hunc esse qui dicitur Christus) in libertatem credentium ei a potestate eorum qui mundum fabricaverunt. Et gentibus ipsorum autem apparuisse cum in terra hominem, et virtutes perfecisse. Quapropter neque passum eum, sed Simonem quemdam Cyrenaeum

angariatum portasse crucem ejus pro eo: et hunc secundum ignorantiam et errorem crucifixum, transfiguratum ab eo, qui putaretur ipse esse Jesus: et ipsum autem Jesum Simonis accepisse formam, et stantem irrississe eos. Quoniam enim virtus incorporalis erat, et Nus innati Patris, transfiguratum quemadmodum vellet, et sic ascendisse ad eum qui miserat eum. Et liberatos igitur eos, qui haec sciant, a mundi fabricatoribus principibus: et non oportere confiteri eum, quisit crucifixus, sed eum qui in hominis forma venerit, et putatus sit crucifixus, et vocatus sit Jesus, et missus a Patre, uti per dispositionem hanc opera mundi fabricatorum dissolveret. Animae autem solae esse salutem: corpus enim natura corruptibile existit. Prophetias autem et ipsas a mundi fabricatoribus fuisse ait principibus, proprie autem Legem a principe ipsorum, qui eduxerit populum de terra Aegypti. Contemnere autem idolothyta, et nihil arbitrari, sed sine aliqua trepidatione uti iis: habere autem et reliquarum operationem usum indifferenter, et universae libidinis. Utuntur autem et hi magia, et incantationibus. Trecentorum autem sexaginta quinque coelorum locales positiones distribuunt, similiter ut mathematici. Illorum enim theoremata accipientes in suum characterem doctrinae transtulerunt: esse autem principem illorum Abraxas, et propter hoc cccxv. numeros habere in se. *Iren. l. i. cap. 24. [al. c. 22, 23.] p. 101, 102.*

Wisdom and Power, of Dunamis and Sophia, Powers, Principalities and Angels, whom they call the superior angels, by whom the first heaven was made. From these proceeded other angels and other heavens, to the number 365, both angels and heavens. And therefore, there are so many days in the year, answerable to the number of the heavens. Farther they say, that the angels which uphold the lower heaven, seen by us, made all things in this world, and then divided the earth among themselves. And the chief of these, they say, is he who is thought to be the God of the Jews. And because he would bring other nations into subjection to the Jews, the other princes opposed him, and other nations opposed that people. But the self-existent and ineffable Father, seeing them in danger of being ruined, sent his first begotten Nus, who also is said to be Christ, for the salvation of such as believe in him, and to deliver them from the tyranny of the makers of the world. And that he appeared on earth as a man, and wrought miracles. But he did not suffer. For Simon of Cyrene, being compelled to bear the cross, was crucified for him. He was transformed into the likeness of Jesus. And Jesus took the shape of Simon, and stood by, looking on, and laughing at the error and ignorance of those, who thought they had him in their power. After which he ascended to heaven. They who understand these things are to be delivered from the princes of this world. They also hold, that men ought not to confess him who was crucified, but him who came in the form of man, and was supposed to be crucified, and was called Jesus, and was sent of the Father, that by this dispensation he might destroy the works of the makers of the world. He likewise taught, that the soul only would be saved, for the body is in its own nature corruptible, and incapable of immortality. He moreover says, that the prophecies are from the princes,

SECT. 2. makers of the world, and that the law was given by the chief of them, who brought the people out of the land of Egypt. They make light of things offered to idols, and partake of them without scruple. And all other actions, and all kinds of lewdness are looked upon by them as indifferent. They practise magic also, and incantations. They have distributed the local positions of the 365 heavens, just as the mathematicians do. For they have adopted their theorems, and introduced them into their scheme; the prince of which they call Abraxas, that name having in it the number 365."

Eusebius, agreeably to what Irenæus says at the beginning of this article, observes, as from him, that (*t*) Saturninus contented himself with the scheme he had received from Menander; but Basilides aimed at farther innovations. And to the like purpose (*u*) Theodoret. And perhaps for this reason Origen calls his scheme a long story or heap of fictions.

SECT. III. *An Examination of several of the Opinions attributed to him.*

SECT. 3. LET us now go over the several particulars in Irenæus, some slightly, others more distinctly: for I do not intend to insist on their account of the creation of the world, or the formation of man, or their doctrines concerning two natures, and election. These last especially are abstruse and intricate notions. After all I could say, I might not give a right explication of them. I therefore content myself with referring

(*t*) Τα μὲν οὖν πλῆστα τοῦ σατορνίνου τα αὐ-
τα τῷ μενάνδρῳ ψευδολογῆσαι ὁ εἰρηναῖος δηλοῖ·
πρὸς σχήματι δὲ ἀπορητοῶν τοῦ βασιλίδου εἰς το

ἀπειρον τίσιναι τὰς ἐπινοίας. κ. λ. *H. E. l. 4.*
c. 7. p. 119. D.

(*u*) *Tab. l. i. c. iv. vii.*

ring to Beaufobre, who hath bestowed great pains in examin- SECT. 3.
ing these points. (x).

Clement of Alexandria has several times hinted these things. (y).

Basilides believed that there is one God, self-existent, and ineffable, or without a name,

He likewise supposed, that there were several Eons, or emanations from the eternal Father. But it has been observed, that (z) the account of Irenæus, and the authors who follow him, is defective. For Clement of Alexandria mentions two more, Justice and Peace. I shall place in the note a part of Philaster's (a) article of Basilides, to shew how that Latin author represented his Eons.

SECT. IV. *Concerning his Notion of 365 Heavens.*

BASILIDES is said by Irenæus and others to have believed, SECT. 4.
that there were 365 heavens, according to the number of the days of the Egyptian year; which account is generally admitted by moderns, as true. Perhaps it is not needful for us to make any particular enquiries into this point. For if this was only an error in philosophy, and not brought into their religious or theological scheme, we are little concerned about it. But Beaufobre (b) does not give credit to it. He thinks,
that

(x) See *Hist. de Manich.* T. ii. 32. 37.

(y) *Vid. Str.* l. 2. p. 363. 409. l. 3. p. 473. l. 4. 540. D. l. 5. p. 545. D.

(z) Ita Irenæus, Epiphanius, Theodoretus. At Basilidis genealogiam integram non referunt. Nam ex Clemente Alex. l. 4. Str. p. 539. Βασιλειδης αποστατησας—δικαιοσυνην δε και την θυγατερα αυτης την ειρηνην απολαμβανει εν ογδοαδι μενειν εδιατεταγμενης.
Nec dubium quin in prima sua conjuga-

tione Ennoian feu Σιγην habuerit, masculoque cum feminis in ogdaode copulaverit. *Maffuet. Diff. Iren.* p. lxi. n. 116.

(a) De innato et solo Deo natum fuisse intellectum, de intellectu verbum, de verbo sensum, de sensu autem et virtute sapientiam, de virtute autem et sapientia principatus et potestates et angelos factos diversos. *H.* 32. p. 65, 66.

(b) *Hist. de Manich.* T. ii. p. 9, 10.

SECT. 4. that Irenæus must have made some mistake. The absurdity is so great, that it ought not to be ascribed to a learned astronomer, as Basilides was. Moreover Irenæus says, that herein Basilides followed the mathematicians. But were there ever any astronomers of this opinion, from whom he could take it? Whence this supposition proceeded, it is not easy to guess. But possibly Basilides said, that there were 365 angels, who presided each over one day of the year: a notion, which seems to have been entertained by some in the East. The same learned writer farther argues in this manner. Clement of Alexandria was well acquainted with the Basilidian theology. And in one of his remaining works he treats the question, (c) whether there are more heavens than one. He cites some words of the prophet Zephaniah, though not in our Hebrew copies, where mention is made of a fifth heaven: and the words of St. Paul, 2 Cor. xii. 2. where he speaks of a third heaven. He likewise takes notice of the opinion of some philosophers, who spake of seven heavens below the sphere of the fixed stars. How could he here omit so uncommon an opinion as that of 365 heavens, if held by the Basilidians; especially, when he lays hold of every opportunity to confute them, because this heresy had then many followers at Alexandria.

SECT. V. *He believed the World was made by Angels, the chief of whom presided over the Jews.*

SECT. 5. **B**ASILIDES supposed this lower world to have been made by angels. This is an opinion, which many went into out of respect, though a false respect for the Deity. They (d) thought it below the Supreme Being to meddle with matter,

(c) Ποτερον εν ορθως εναι υρανον ειρηκαμεν, η πολλας και απειρους. Str. l. v. p. 586. B.

(d) See Beausobre, as before, p. 10, 11.

ter, in order to give it form and beauty. They judged it to be unworthy of him to make perishing and mortal beings. Above all they could not endure the supposition, that God was the author of the many evils that are in this world. If God had made this world, they argued it would have been perfect. But as there are in it many imperfections, it cannot be the work of God, infinitely perfect, and infinitely good.

They chose therefore to ascribe this world to angels; who seeing matter, which was eternal, agitated in a tumultuous and disorderly manner, determined to reduce it to order: and having in their mind the world of spirits, to which they belonged, and which served as a model to them, they would make one like it in matter. God, who knew their design, did not interpose to prevent it. Our world therefore was made by angels, with the tacit consent of the Supreme Being. This opinion of their's concerning the formation of the world, was opposite to the opinion of the orthodox or catholic christians. For as Beausobre observes, (e) They always endeavoured to establish the unity of the creating principle; but the philosophers who made profession of christianity, obstinately maintained the contrary error. Their design was to justify Providence, and to represent the material principle as the cause of all evil. The intention was commendable, but the execution was bad. For the systems they formed, did not solve, but only palliate these difficulties. And in their very first principles, they directly opposed the divine authority of Moses and the prophets, and consequently in the end the divine authority of Jesus Christ. But they denied this consequence, and always maintained a high veneration for the Son of God. Wherefore

(e) *Hist. de Manich. Tom. ii. p. 2. No. 1.*

SECT. 5. fore it is unjust to attribute to them impious sentiments which they never held, but in their whole conduct disavowed.

By some, Basilides is said to have ascribed the formation of this world to the inferior angels. But that, I think, is not clear. For if he did, he herein differed from Saturninus, who, according to Irenæus, seems to have taught, that the world was made by seven angels, whom he does not represent of an inferior rank, but rather of the first order: as next to the Eons, or first emanations from the eternal and ineffable Father. Moreover in Clement of Alexandria, who did not write upon hearsay reports, but who has given us the very words of Basilides himself; he is spoken of as maintaining honorable thoughts of the angel creator, or the chief of the angels who made the world. For he said, that (*f*) the creator formed the world for the honour of the invisible God, whose image and prophet he was: and that the creator (*g*) was worthy to be praised, and a very great God.

When a distribution was afterwards made of things, the chief of the angels, creators, had the people of the Jews particularly to his share. A doctrine, which in the main was received by many ancients, and is in part founded upon Deut. xxxii. 8. which according to the version of the Seventy is to this purpose: When the Most High divided the nations, and separated the sons of Adam, he set the bounds of the people according to the number of the angels of God. And this opinion they endeavoured to support by Dan. x. 13. 21.—xii. 1.

(*f*) Ου γὰρ αυθεντικως ευρεθη μορφη, αλλα το ονομα επληρωσαν το υψερησαν εν πλασει, συνεργει δε και το τη θεω αορατον εις πρισιν τη πεπλασμενῃ· τον μὲν γὰρ δημιουργον, ως θεον και πατερα κληθεν-
τα, εικοσα τε αληδινῃ θεῳ, και προφητην προ-

σειπεν, ζωγραφον δε την σοφian, ης το πλασμα η εικων, εις δοξαν τη αορατε. *Clem. Alex. Strom.* L. iv. p. 509. C. D.

(*g*) Τον μεγατον και προς αυτων ανυμνουμενον θεον. *Ib.* L. ii. p. 376. B.

S E C T.

SECT. VI. *His Opinion concerning the Person of Christ.*

WE proceed to the account, which Irenæus gives of their doctrine concerning the person of Christ. The eternal Father, seeing the ruin of the world, sent his first begotten, Nus, or Understanding, for the salvation of them that believe in him, and to deliver them from the power of the angel creators. He appeared as man, and wrought many miracles; but he was not crucified, the Jews having through mistake crucified Simon the Cyrenian in his stead. SECT. 6.

Here it is fit to observe, what Basilides said to the honour of Jesus. He supposed him to be the first-begotten of the Father, and to have come into this lower world for the salvation of men, and with an express order and commission from the Father. He likewise supposed Jesus to have wrought here many miracles.

But he did not think Jesus to be really man, but in appearance only. So say many ancient (*b*) writers. Insomuch that it is difficult to deny or contest this. And yet perhaps we may presently see somewhat that may make us hesitate about it. For, as Beausobre says, (*i*) undoubtedly Basilides did not believe the incarnation, or the hypostatic union of the Son of God with flesh: but then, he never denied, that Jesus was a real person, in whom the Understanding, or Son of God, displayed his power, whom he filled with his gifts and illuminations, and invested with extraordinary influence.

(*b*) —in ipsa prius carne ejus erraverunt: aut nullius veritatis contententes eam secundum Marcionem et Basilidem: aut propriæ qualitatis, secundum hereses Valentini, et Apelles. *Tertull. de Carni. Resurrectione. c. 2. p. 379. D. p. 314. 29.*

Και αὐτὸς περὶ χριστοῦ, ὡς δοκῇσι πεισθησὶν, ὁμοίως δοξάζει· εἶναι δὲ φησὶν αὐτὸν φαντασίαν ἐν τῷ φαίνεσθαι, μὴ εἶναι δὲ ἀνθρώπον, μηδὲ σὰρκα εἰληφέναι. *Epiph. H. 24. n. iii.*

(*i*) *Ib. p. 25. n. vi.*

M

S E C T.

SECT. VII. *Of the Story of Simon the Cyrenian, and whether he believed that Christ suffered.*

SECT. 7.

AS for Jesus taking the shape of Simon the Cyrenian, and transforming Simon into his own, it is so absurd a story, that I must confess, it appears to me incredible. It must certainly be a misrepresentation, founded in some mistake, possibly upon the consequences drawn by others from some opinions of theirs, which consequences they did not allow.

Beaufobre too says plainly, (*k*) the ridiculous comedy of Simon transformed into Jesus, and crucified in his stead, is a fable, which Irenæus found I know not where. And, as the same acute writer observes, Massuet (*l*) perceived, that this account is contradicted by Clement of Alexandria: but he chose to correct Clement by Irenæus, rather than Irenæus by Clement. But, says Beaufobre, (*m*) I cannot be of that mind. The testimony of Clement appears to me, vastly more valuable than that of Irenæus, because he knew the Basilidians, and had read their books, and cites them. Especially is his testimony preferable here upon this occasion, as it is not so much Clement that speaks, as Basilides himself.

The argument is this: Basilides acknowledged, that the attributes of goodness, holiness, and righteousness belong to God. As good, he can never do evil to any one. As holy, he cannot but hate sin, of which he never is the author. As righteous,

(*k*) *Ib.*

(*l*) Ad eam distinctionem . . . haud satis attendisse videtur Clemens Alex. dum scripsit. lib. iv. Strom. quod Basilides *hominem peccandi potestate præditum ausus esset dicere Dominum*: quod falsum videtur, si ad verum Christum referatur, quem hominem

quidem esse fatebatur: utcumque ferri potest, si de ementito Christo, nempe Simone Cyrenæo intelligatur, qui sub Christi specie ac figura cruci affixus fuit. *Mass. Diff. Iren. p. lxi. n. 117,*

(*m*) *Hist. de Manich. T. ii. p. 25. n. vi.*

ous, he may and will correct sinners. But for the same reason, he never will permit the innocent to be punished. The orthodox acknowledged the same divine attributes: but they did not approve of the consequences, which Basilides drew from them. They believed God to be righteous. And yet supposed, that he might permit innocent beings to suffer. As a proof of this they instanced in the martyrs, delivered up to the most grievous pains for the exercise of their virtue, and the confirming the gospel. Basilides answered, (*n*) that martyrs are not perfectly innocent, forasmuch as there is no man without fault: and if any suffer, God punisheth in them evil desires, or actual sin, though secret and unknown to others: or sins, which the soul had been guilty of in some other body. God who knows all things, the most secret, never punishes any who have not deserved it. The favour shewn to martyrs lies in this, that their pains appear to have an honorable cause, though they are indeed the punishment of their sins, committed either in this life or in a pre-existent state.

For overturning this notion, which must tend to discourage martyrdom, and lessen the virtue of it, the Catholics alledged the example of Jesus Christ, who had undergone the pain of the cross, and whose innocence Basilides could not contest. This argument reduced him to great distress. For it was difficult for him to extricate himself without blasphemy. However Clement thus represents his manner of evading it: Basilides, (*o*) speaking of our Lord as a man, explains him-

M 2

self

(*n*) Αλλα τω βασιλιδῃ ἡ υποθεσις προαμαρτησασαν φησι τὴν ψυχὴν ἐν ἑτέρῳ βίῳ, τὴν κολασιν υπομενεῖν ἐνταυθα· τὴν μὲν ἐκλεκτὴν ἐπιτιμῶς διὰ μαρτυρίᾳ· τὴν ἀλλήν δὲ, καθαρῶμενην οἰκείᾳ κολάσει. *Ib.* 506. *D.* 507.

(*o*) Οὕτωςι δὲ καὶ τὸν ἀναμαρτητὸν οὐ λέγω, εἰδὼν πασχόντα, καὶ μὴδὲν ἢ κακὸν πεπραχώς,

κόπον ἐξω τῷ θελεῖν ἀμαρτανεῖν. Παντ' ἐξω γὰρ μάλλον, ἢ κακὸν τὸ προνοεῖν ἐξω. Εἰθ' ὑποβας, καὶ, περὶ τῆς κυρίᾳ ἀντικρύς, ὡς περὶ ἀνθρώπου λέγει. Ἐὰν μὲντοι παραλίπων τῆς ἀπαντᾶς τῆς λογῆς, ἐλθὼς ἐπὶ τὸ δυσωπεῖν με, διὰ προσώπων τινῶν, εἰ τυχοί, λέγων· Ὁ δεῖνα ἦν ἡμαρτεν, ἐπαθεῖν γὰρ ὁ δεῖνα: εἰ μὲν ἐπιτρέπεις ἐξω· ἢ ἡμαρτεν

SECT. 7. self openly in these terms: If without attending to what I have said, and in order to throw me into confusion, you alledge certain persons: for example, this person has suffered, therefore he has sinned, you must allow me to answer, in the first place, that he has not sinned, but he has suffered like infants. If you still press me, I will add, of whatever man you can mention, that he is man, and God is just. For there is no man free from spot, as one says. And I would say any thing, rather than censure Providence. Clement confutes this opinion, (*p*) and concludes in this manner: Must we not reckon that man profane, who dares to say, that the Lord was a sinner or capable of sinning!

All this, as Beaufobre (*q*) farther argues, is inconsistent with what is said by Irenæus. If we rely upon him, Basilides taught that Jesus did not suffer, and was not crucified: but Simon the Cyrenian was crucified in his stead. And the Lord triumphed over the Jews, who thought they had crucified him. But if that had been the sentiment of Basilides, what ground had the Catholic writers to instance in the sufferings of the Lord Jesus. If they did, his answer was easy: What do you mean? Did I ever say, that Jesus suffered? Do not all know, that my opinion is, that the Lord was not a man, and that Simon, a miserable sinner, suffered in his stead. Having been called to bear the cross, Providence put him in the room of the Saviour. So, to refer to an ancient history, Providence formerly substituted a ram in the place of Isaac.

Since therefore Basilides, as appears from his own words cited by Clement, was greatly pressed by the example of the Lord,

ἡμαρτιν μιν, ὁμοίως δὲ ἢ τῷ πασχόντι νηπιῷ. Εἰ
μιν τοὶ σφοδρότερον ἐκβιάσαιο τὸν λόγον, ἔρω,
ἀνθρώπων, ὅτιν' ἀν' ὀνομάσης, ἀνθρώπων εἶναι,
δικαίον δὲ τὸν θεόν. καθάρως γὰρ ὑδεῖς, ὥσπερ

εἶπε τις, ἀπὸ ρυπῆ. *Strom. l. 4. p. 506. C. D.*

(*p*) Πῶς δὲ ἢ ἀθεός . . . ἀνθρώπων ἀμαρτη-
τικὸν τολμήσας εἶπεν τὸν κύριον. *Ib. p. 507. B.*

(*q*) *Ibid. p. 27. n. vii.*

Lord, insisted on by the Catholics ; we are led to conclude, SECT. 7.
that he supposed Jesus to have really suffered, and that some
how or other Irenæus has been mistaken.

SECT. VIII. *Beaufobre's View of the Sentiments
of Basilides concerning Christ.*

AFTER this argument Beaufobre fums (r) up the senti- SECT. 8.
ment and doctrine of Basilides concerning the Saviour.

1. According to him Jesus was a real true man, since he suffered. But whether he believed Jesus to be born of a virgin, does not appear. 2. The Divine Understanding, Nus, which is the same as the Son of God, descended into this man, and made use of him as an instrument, to give to mankind the knowledge of the true God and the means of salvation. By him he published his doctrine, and wrought great miracles in confirmation of it. 3. The exact manner in which he conceived of the union of the divine intelligence with the human nature of Jesus, we cannot say ; but he did not think him to partake of any of the infirmities of the human nature, or to be so united, as to suffer. 4. Jesus being a man only, though a most excellent man, in whom the first-begotten of the Father chose to dwell, it may be said without blasphemy, not that he ever sinned, but that it is not impossible, that he might. And it is better to make this supposition, than to allow Providence to be the cause of any evil, as it would be, if an innocent person suffered. 5. If Jesus committed any fault, (which Basilides did not affirm) it must have been before the Christ or the Spirit descended upon him at his baptism. 6. The ministry of the Saviour being finished, Jesus was taken and crucified,
but

(r) *Ibid.* p. 28. n. viii.

SECT. 8. but not the Christ, or the first-begotten of the Father, who was no farther united to Jesus, than was necessary for the functions of his charge. The Jews therefore fastened to the cross, a man only, who for some time had been the organ of the divinity. 7. From whence it might possibly be concluded by some, that Basilides did, or would say, as Irenæus tells us, that we ought not to believe in him that was crucified. For the Son of God is the only object of faith, not a man, who was only his instrument during the course of his ministry. 8. As Basilides believed the death of Jesus, though not of the Son of God, probably he believed his resurrection. That is, that his soul ascended to heaven, and the body was left to lie in the grave, or was dissipated into the air, and among the elements, of which it was composed. As the ancient Catholic writers do not particularly say, that he denied the resurrection of Jesus, though they assure us, he and his followers denied the resurrection of the body; it is not unlikely, that he admitted the resurrection, or the advancement and glorification of the soul of Jesus.

SECT. IX. *He believed the Baptism of Jesus.*

SECT. 9. **T**HE examining what Irenæus says of the substituting Simon the Cyrenian in the room of Jesus, has carried us a great way. But we must not forget to observe, that Basilides believed the fact of the baptism of Jesus. Clement says, that (//) his followers celebrated the day of his baptism as a festival, spending the whole preceding night in reading, and very likely, in prayers. They placed it on the fifteenth day

(//) Οι δε απο βασιλειδου και του βαπτισματος τις αναγνωσις. κ. λ. *Str. l. i. p. 340. B.*
 τοις αυτοις την ημεραν εορταζουν προσδιανυκτερευον-

day of the Egyptian month Tubi, which answers, as is supposed, to the ninth or tenth of our January, in the fifteenth year of Tiberius. It is probable, that this was with them the time of the coming of the Son of God into the world. Then Jesus was consecrated by baptism; then the Christ or Spirit, descended, and took up his abode in Jesus, filled him with abundance of gifts, and qualified him for teaching his doctrine, and working miracles. The same Clement informs us, that (t) the Valentinians supposed the dove at Christ's baptism to have been the Spirit himself; but the Basilidians, the minister of the Spirit.

There is a passage of Basilides concerning our Lord's baptism, quoted by Clement of Alexandria, (u) upon which Beausobre has (x) made curious remarks.

SECT. X. *He is said to have partaken of Things offered to Idols, and to have denied the Necessity or Reasonableness of suffering Martyrdom.*

IRENÆUS in the place above cited says, they make light of things offered to idols, and partake of them without scruple. But how far they did so, we cannot certainly say. St. Paul forbids eating of them at some times, and upon some occasions only, and undoubtedly he enjoins this agreeably to the directions of the council of Jerusalem.

Basilides is supposed by some to have denied the necessity or reasonableness of our suffering martyrdom for Jesus. Irenæus is

(t) . . . οὗτοι οἱ μὲν τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα φασὶν· οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ βασιλίδου τὸν διακόνον. Οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ οὐαλεντίνου τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἐνθυμήσεως τοῦ πατρὸς. κ. λ. *Exc. Theod. n. xvi.*

(u) *Str. l. 2. p. 315.*

(x) *Hist. Manich. T. ii. p. 31, 32.*

SECT. 10. is thought to point at his followers, (y) when he speaks of some heretics, who had a like opinion; and he may be supposed also to intend the same thing when he says, they make no scruple to eat of things offered to idols. Origen too informs us, (z) that at least they detracted from the honour of martyrdom. The author of the additions to Tertullian's (a) Prescriptions plainly says, they denied the necessity of it: as (b) doth Philaster and Epiphanius, (c) who all probably copied one from another. However, I do not think that we ought hence to conclude, that there were no martyrs among the Basilidians; or that they thought themselves excused from suffering for the truth's sake. But we perceive from the notion of Basilides before taken notice of, that he might be reasonably said to have detracted from the honour of the martyrs. And some might be willing to conclude, that he denied martyrdom to be a duty, or that confessing Jesus in times of danger, was required of us. But this is a consequence drawn for him by others, from some of his opinions, and not what he himself allows. For it appears from several passages before quoted from Clement, that he esteemed martyrdom an honourable suffering, though some sins were therein accounted for.

(y) Et cum hæc ita se habeant, ad tantam temeritatem progressi sunt quidam, ut etiam martyres spernant, et vituperent eos qui propter Domini confessionem occiduntur. *Iren. l. 3. c. 18. n. 4.*

(z) Basilidis quoque sermones detrahentes quidem iis qui usque ad mortem certant pro veritate, ut confiteantur coram hominibus Jesum. *Ir. Matt. T. iii. p. 856. F. Bened.*

(a) Martyria negat esse facienda. *D. Pr. cap. 46. p. 250: D. 215. 3.*

(b) Prohibet etiam pati martyrium homines pro nomine Christi, dicens ita: Ignoras, quid desideras. Non enim natus est, inquit Christus, neque crucifixus est. *Philast. H. 32.*

(c) Διδασκει δε . . . μη δια μαρτυριου. *Epiph. H. 24. n. iv. p. 71.*

SECT. XI. *He believed that only the Soul would be saved.*

IRENÆUS also assures us (*d*), that Basilides taught, that SECT. 11.
the soul only would be saved; but the body is in its nature corruptible, and incapable of immortality. And here undoubtedly we may rely upon Irenæus. All in general who held two principles, and had a disadvantageous opinion of matter, as evil in itself, and the cause of all evils in this sublunary world, denied the resurrection of the flesh, or the body (*e*). And possibly this too was one reason, why some said that Basilides discouraged martyrdom, and denied that we ought to confess the name of Jesus in times of danger. For to deny that the body which suffered should have any share in future recompenses, was to discourage martyrdom, and to take away one motive for engaging men to submit to death in the cause of Christ.

SECT. XII. *He is falsely accused of believing, that Actions are indifferent in their own Nature.*

IRENÆUS farther says of the Basilidians (*f*); that all SECT. 12.
actions whatever, and all kinds of lewdness are looked upon by them as indifferent. To the like purpose some other ancient writers, as Philaster (*g*), and Epiphanius (*h*).

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On

(*d*) Vide note in p. 74.

(*e*) Carnis resurrectionem graviter impugnat, negans salutem corporibus repositam. Tertull. Pr. c. 46. p. 250. B. p. 215. 3. ηγηθη δε και εως της σαρκος την αναστασιν. The. H. F. l. 1. c. 4. p. 195. C.

(*f*) Habere autem et reliquarum operationum usum indifferentem et universæ libi-

dinis. Iren. ubi Sup. l. 1. c. 23. 98 Gr.

(*g*) Hic etiam male permittit vivere, et dat licentiam vitiis secularibus adherere. Philast. H. 32. p. 69.

(*h*) Πασαν επιτηδευσιν κακομηχανίας και ασέλγειας επιτρέπει τῆς αὐτῶ μαθηματευομένης επιτελεῖν, ἀνδρας μετα γυναικῶν πολυμιξίαν. Epiph. H. 24. n. iii. p. 71. B.

On this last assertion of Irenæus, from whom the others copied, it is proper to observe,

1. That the making no difference in things, or saying that all actions are indifferent, is absolutely inconsistent with the notions of Basilides concerning the Deity, expressed in the passage before cited; that no evil thing was to be imputed to Providence: and his great aversion to allow, what seemed to be the consequence of his doctrine, relating to martyrs, further confirms this. Certainly such an one could not esteem all actions alike, or make no difference between virtue and vice, righteousness and unrighteousness. No, he thought, that the one ought to be inviolably adhered to, and the other to be abhorred. Moreover in the article of Saturninus, from whom Basilides, it is likely, did not differ upon this head, Irenæus expressly says, that it was *his* opinion, that the Saviour came for the condemnation of bad men and demons, and for the salvation of good men; and that many of his followers practised great temperance. Therefore there are good and bad actions, from which men are denominated; and God approves those who do the one, and dislikes those who do the other.

2. There are still in Clement of Alexandria remaining passages of Basilides, wherein he shews, that he had right sentiments concerning these matters, and condemns the thought and intention of evil, as well as the outward action. In the passage which I refer to (*i*), he seems to have an eye to our Lord's words in Matt. v. 21.—28. And his doctrine is the same. In another place, Clement represents (*k*) the comment of Basilides and his followers upon Matt. xix. 10.—15. to be to
this

(*i*) Δη γὰρ ὁ μοιχεύσαι θέλων μοιχὸς ἐστὶ, καὶ τὸ μοιχεύσαι μὴ ἐπιτυχῆ· καὶ ὁ ποιῆσαι φόρον θέλων, ἀνδροφόνος ἐστὶ, καὶ μὴ δύνηται φορεῖσθαι. κ. λ. *Sir. l. 4. p. 506. C.*

(*k*) Οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ βασιλίδου, πυθομένων φασὶ

τῶν ἀποστόλων μὴ ποτε ἀμείνων εἶναι τὸ μὴ γάμειν, ἀποκρίνασθαι λέγουσι τὸν κυρίον . . . οἱ δὲ ἐνεκὰ τῆς αἰωνίου βασιλείας εὐνουχισάντες ἑαυτοὺς, διὰ τὰ ἐκ τῆς γάμου φασὶ συμβαίνειντα. *Siram. l. 3. p. 426. A. B.*

this purpose. Some, say they, have a natural aversion for women. They who have this constitution, do well not to marry. These, say they, are such as are eunuchs from their birth. Others are so out of necessity, as they who exercise in the theatre, who for the sake of glory practise continence. Some have been mutilated by some accident, and are also eunuchs by necessity, not by choice. Finally, there are some who make themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake; who though they have a desire of marriage, decline it, fearing the incumbrances of that state. SECT. 12.

Whereupon Beausobre observes (1): Here we see the true sentiments of Basilides upon the subject of continence, about which men thought differently at that time. Some made it a necessary virtue, and condemned marriage as a work of the flesh. Others exalted continence as the most sublime virtue, though they did not condemn marriage as evil and sinful. Others considered it, not as a virtue in itself, but as a state of life which had its usefulness and convenience, especially in times of persecution, because it delivered a christian from the cares and concerns inseparable from the marriage state. This last seems to have been the sentiment of Basilides. He did not esteem continence a virtue in itself. If there were two honest and faithful men, he did not give the preference to him who continued single, above the other who lived in lawful marriage. He was willing, that all should follow the condition to which they were called by nature. He despised an affected and hypocritical continence. He set no value upon forced virginity, or upon those who made ostentation of it, that they might be preferred to others. But he approved of that continence which was pure, free, and chosen for the kingdom

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of

(1) *Hist. Manich.* T. ii. p. 43.

SECT. 12. of heaven's sake. There needs no great penetration to discern, that all the fault of Basilides lay, in not extolling continence to the heavens, in not giving it the preference above honest marriage, in not promising particuar crowns and thrones to such as made profession of it. This too was the fault of Jovinian. And the manner in which Jerom treated him gives just ground to think, that he treated Basilides no better for an opinion that was very right, at least very innocent. Few persons of antiquity thought justly of marriage and continence, and abstinences in general, and all that is called the ascetic life. So Beaufobre.

3. Finally, Clement of Alexandria has born testimony to the moral principles of Basilides and his son Isidore. There were Basilidians at Alexandria, that were vicious. Having put down the passage before taken notice of, and some others, from Isidore; I have alledged (*m*) these passages, says Clement, to confound those Basilidians who live ill: for the first authors of their sect did not allow them to do so. I cannot help observing farther, that there is another passage of Basilides in Clement of Alexandria, expressing great strictness, if not severity, which must surely shew, that he did not favour corruption of manners: for he held, that (*n*) of sins committed even before faith, or baptism, those only would be forgiven which were involuntary, and done through ignorance.

(*m*) Ταυτας παρεθεμην τας φωνας εις ελεγ-

χον των μη βιαντων ορθως βασιλιδιανων . . . επει
μηδε ταυτα αυτοις πραττειν συγχωρεσιν οι προ-
πατορες των δογματων. *Str. l. 3. p. 427. C.*

ed. Paris. p. 510. ed. Potteri.

(*n*) Πλην εδε πασας ο βασιλειδης φησι,
μονας δε ακουσας, και κατα αγνοιαν, αφισθαν-
Str. l. 4. p. 536. B.

SECT. XIII. *A probable Account of the Foundation of this Charge.*

IT may be here asked; if this be so, how came it to pass, SECT. 13.
that Irenæus and others charge Basilides and his followers
with immoral doctrines and practices.

I answer, this may have proceeded from divers causes. Men are too susceptible of wrong impressions to the prejudice of such as are of different sentiments, and whom they think to be in error. And if some professors of it are bad, they are ready to infer, that all are so, or that they act upon principle. Besides, some of the ancient heretics did hold principles which were liable to be abused: and their adversaries might possibly conclude, that they actually were abused by those who maintained them. The Basilidians (*o*) and some others (*p*) had a notion, that God was not to be feared, but loved only. Tertullian indeed represents it as the common opinion of heretics (*q*), that God was not to be feared: and thence he infers, that they were given up to all kinds of licentiousness. I therefore entirely agree with Beaufobre, who (*r*) thinks it to be highly probable, that this induced many to impute licentiousness of manners to the Basilidians and other Gnostics. Another principle liable to be abused, was the doctrine concerning

(*o*) *Vid. Clem. Str.* 375. *C. D. ed. Paris.* p. 448. *ed. Potteri.*

(*p*) *Ναι, φησιν, ου χρεη θεον φοβεισθαι, αλλα αγαπαν. . . . Αλλ ο φοβος εκπλησσει την ψυχην. Simon ap. Hom. Clem.* 17. n. xi. p. 735.

(*q*) *Negant Deum timendum. Itaque libera sunt illis omnia et soluta. De Præs. Har. c.* 43. p. 248. *B. p.* 213. 43.

See also many quotations to the same purpose under the chapter of Marcion.

(*r*) Il est bien vraisemblable, que c'est la ce qui fit attribuer aux Basilidiens, et aux autres Gnostiques, de moeurs impures et profanes. Que doit on penser de gens, qui font profession de ne point craindre Dieu. *Hist. Manich. T. ii. p.* 32. n. 2

SECT. 13. concerning two natures, one good in itself, the other bad: which was the opinion of Saturninus, and with which agreed the Basilidian doctrine concerning election. Clement seems to have thought, that possibly some of the Basilidians did abuse this last mentioned doctrine, and reckoned themselves licensed to sin: but then he assures us, that their first leaders did not allow of this consequence, or encourage their followers to act as these corrupt ones did. Nor does Clement impute this to them as what was really their opinion. He only says of those who did not live well, that they lived (*f*) as if they had liberty to sin, because of their perfection; or as if they must certainly be saved by nature, and through election, however they sin now.

SECT. XIV. *He is also accused of using Magic and Incantations.*

SECT. 14. IRENÆUS farther says, the Basilidians make (*t*) use of magic, and incantations, and invocations, and other curious arts. It should be observed here, that Tertullian, the most ancient copier of Irenæus, says nothing of this kind; and as we have only a Latin translation of this chapter of Irenæus, and various readings even in that; (*u*) it is not unlikely, that this may be a corrupted place: especially, as neither Clement of Alexandria, nor Origen, who omit no opportunities of reproaching the Basilidians, lay any thing of this kind to

(*f*) Ως ἦτοι ἐχόντες ἐξουσίαν καὶ τὰ ἀμαρτεῖν διὰ τὴν τελειότητα, ἢ πάντως γὰρ σωθησομένοι φύσει, καὶ οὖν ἀμαρτανῶσι διὰ τὴν ἐμψυτον ἐκλογὴν. *Clem. Strom.* l. 3. p. 427. C. ed. Paris. p. 510. ed. Pottiri.

(*t*) Utuntur autem et hi magia, et incantationibus, et invocationibus, et reliqua

universa periergia. *Ad. Hær.* l. 1. c. 23. p. 98. Gr.

(*u*) Massuet reads magia et imaginibus. Feuarentius has rejected imaginibus, and so has Grabe. Epiphanius and Theoderet have only magic. See *Beauf. H. M. T.* ii. p. 45. n. 18. *Grabi not. in Loc.*

to their charge. It may be further remarked, that the antient fathers perpetually confound astronomy and astrology with magic. Mathematician, and magician, are with them the same. All these considerations make me very doubtful about the truth of this accusation. I would not, however, be understood to deny their using some superstitious practices, in order to deliver themselves from certain maladies. Others, even orthodox christians, did this at Antioch, long after the Basilidian heresy was extinct; as will appear in the sequel. The notion of demons, or the souls of dead men having power over living men, was universally prevalent among the heathens, and was believed by many (x) christians. The Valentinians (y) said, that baptism in the name of Jesus was sufficient to deliver christians from the power of these. Perhaps the Basilidians, who resembled the Valentinians in many respects, might be of the same opinion. Many of the fathers were believers in the efficacy of certain names to expel demons. Justin Martyr, (z) in his dispute with Trypho the Jew, assures us, That all demons submit to the name of Jesus: but when you use any other name, either of kings, righteous men, prophets, or patriarchs, they will not submit: but if any one adjure them by the God of Abram, of Isaac, or of Jacob, they *perhaps* will obey. Wherefore your exorcists use some certain arts, as well as those of the Gentiles in adjuring them, together

(x) Δαιμονας αψυχας νεκρων ειδωλα καμοντων. Sibyllinor. l. 8. p. 684. ed. Gallæi. See also p. 27. Note A, under the article Lucius. C. H. § 10.

(y) In Ecl. Theod. § 74 et seq. See before, B. 1.

(z) Κατα γαρ τῶ νοματι αὐτοῦ τὰ τὰ τῶ νομ τῶ Θεοῦ. . . παν δαιμονιον εξοριζομενον νικα-

ται, και υποτασσεται εαν δε κατα παντος νοματος των παρ υμων γεγεννημενων, η βασιλεων, η δικαιων, η προφητων, η πατριαρχων εξοριζητε υμεις, εν υπολαγησεται εδεν των δαιμονιων· αλλ ει αρα εξοριζοι τις υμων κατα τῶ Θεοῦ Αβρααμ, . . . ισως υπολαγησεται. κ. τ. λ. Jus. Mar. Dial. 2. p. 320. 1. ed. Thirlby.

ther with certain fumes and ligatures. Irenæus (*a*) himself says, that the Jews even *now* use this invocation, the name of God, to drive away demons. Origen (*b*) likewise informs us, that the names of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, joined to the name of God, have such power, that not only the Jews use them in their prayers to God, and in casting out demons, but also all other exorcists. And he in another place asserts, (*c*) that many use this expression, the God of Abraham, to cast out demons, without knowing who Abraham was. If therefore Justin Martyr, Irenæus, and Origen, believed the use of certain names to be thus powerful in expelling demons, it is not at all improbable, that the Basilidians, who undoubtedly were filled with the same notions of demonism, which had over-run the whole world, should use the name of Jesus, to deliver those whom they supposed to be possessed, from the power of demons; or should regard baptism and faith as sufficient preservatives against their influence. But they ought not on this account to be accused of magic. Superstitious and faulty they undoubtedly were, but not more so than many of the catholics. The magicians, says Clement of Alexandria, (*d*) boast, that they have demons as ministers of their impiety, and as it were enrolled in the number of their domestics; and that they force them to become their servants, by their incantations.

(*a*) Et propter hoc Judæi usque nunc hac ipsa adfatione dæmonas effugant. *Iren. l. 2. c. 5. p. 123. ed. Grabe.*

(*b*) Ὡς τοσούτον δύναται τὰ ὀνόματα συναπτομένα τῇ τῷ Θεῷ προσήγορίᾳ, ὥς ἡ μόνον τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔθνους χρεῖται ἐν ταῖς πρὸς Θεὸν εὐχαῖς, καὶ ἐν τῷ κατεπαθεῖν δαιμόνας, τῷ, ὁ Θεὸς Ἀβραὰμ καὶ ὁ Θεὸς Ἰσαὰκ, καὶ ὁ Θεὸς Ἰακώβ· ἀλλὰ γὰρ χεῖρον καὶ πάντας τῆς τὰ τῶν ἐπαδόντων καὶ μαγικῶν πραγματοποιοῦμεν. *Con. Cel. l. 4.*

p. 183, 4. ed. Spenceri. Opp. T. 1. p. 526. n. 33. ed. Bened.

(*c*) Παραλαμβάνουσι τὴν, Θεὸς Ἀβραὰμ, λέξιν, οὐκ ἐπισταμενοὶ δὲ τίς ἐστὶν ὁ Ἀβραὰμ. *Ib. l. 1. p. 17. ed. Spenceri. Opp. T. 1, p. 339. n. 22. Bened.*

(*d*) Μαγοὶ δὲ ἡδὴ, ἀσεβείας τῆς σφῶν αὐτῶν υπηρετὰς δαιμόνας αὐχρῶσιν, οἰκέτας αὐτῆς εαυτοῖς καταγράφαντες τῆς κατηναγκασμένης, δαλῶς ταῖς ἐπαοιδαῖς πεποινηκότες. *Coh. ad. Gentes p. 39. C. ed. Paris. p. 52. ed. Potteri.*

tations. But this is very different from believing, that baptism in the name of Jesus, or invoking him, will deliver them from the power of demons, when they think themselves possessed; or be a preservative against such influence. The former is in a high degree criminal, and what no consistent christian could ever comply with. The latter was the general sentiment of christians for many centuries.

SECT. XV. *Of the meaning of Caulacau, and his Definition of Faith and Hope.*

THE Basilidians use the word Caulacau, (e) and apply it to a person: Theodoret says, (f) to the Saviour of the world. It is taken from Isaiah xxviii. 10. (g) where we have

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translated

(e) Quemadmodum et mundus nomen esse, in quo dicunt descendisse et ascendisse salvatorem, esse Caulacau. Igitur qui hæc didicerit, et angelos omnes cognoverit, et causas eorum, invisibilem et incomprehensibilem eum angelis et potestatibus universis fieri, quemadmodum et Caulacau fuisse. *Iran. l. 1. c. 23. p. 98, 99. ed. Grabe.* Beausobre would amend this, which Grabe says is corrupted, by changing mundus into mundi, and leaving out the first esse. But this he owns will not agree with the following sentence, where Caulacau is attributed to a person, and is not the name of the world. This is agreeable to what Theodoret says. I think a sense may be made out by reading in connection with the preceding context, as follows: Et deinceps nituntur 365 ementitorum cælorum nomina, et principia, et angelos et virtutes exponere, quemadmodum et mundi nomen; in quo dicunt descendisse et ascendisse salvatorem, qui est Caulacau. The meaning then will be, they endeavour to explain the names, elements, angels, and virtues of these 365 feigned heavens,

as also the name of this world, (that is, the name assigned it in their system of astronomy,) into which the Saviour descended, and then ascended from it again, who himself was called Caulacau: and that he who knows all these angels, and can explain their origin and causes, will himself become invisible, and incomprehensible, to all these angels and powers, as Caulacau or the Saviour himself was.

(f) Τον δε σωτηρα και Κυριον Καυλακαυαν ονομαζουσι. *Hæc. Fab. l. 1. c. 4. p. 195. D.*

(g) The words in the original are קו לקו. If we consider this as derived from קו to stretch out, it may metaphorically refer to the stretching of the mind towards an object, and therefore may signify hope, or expectation. Thus the Seventy understood it. And as the Basilidians were most prevalent in Ægypt, they undoubtedly used this translation, and would therefore naturally understand the words in the sense there given. If understood in that sense, and applied as a name to our Saviour, it seems to imply what is asserted above.

SECT. 15. translated it, line upon line: but the Seventy render it, hope upon hope: *ἐλπίδα ἐπ' ἐλπίδι*. The only meaning that can be drawn from which, if understood in the sense of the Seventy, is, that they regarded our Saviour as the foundation and support of all their hopes: a sentiment becoming christians, though expressed in an affected, enigmatical manner.

I would just observe farther concerning the opinions of Basilides, that he defines faith to be (*b*) an assent of the soul to the truth of things which are not perceivable by the senses, because they are not present, and hope he calls an expectation of good.

SECT. XVI. *Of the Name Abraxas, which he is said to have given to the Prince of the Heavens.*

SECT. 16. **W**E come now to what Irenæus says farther, that (*i*) they call the prince of the heavens Abraxas, that name having in it the number 365. The very same thing is said by Theodoret, who seems to have copied him (*k*).

Upon this occasion we are led to consider a common notion among the moderns, that the Basilidians had amulets, or preservatives, or magical figures, with certain inscriptions. There are in the cabinets of the curious great numbers of stones or gems, which are usually ascribed to them. When I read the account of these things in Montfaucon's *Antiquity explained*, where

(*b*) Ορίζονται γὰρ οἱ ἀπὸ βασιλίδος τὴν πίσιν, ψυχῆς συνκαταθεσὶν πρὸς τι τῶν μὴ κινητῶν αἰσθησὶν, διὰ τοῦ μὴ παρῆναι. Ἐλπίς δὲ προσδοκία κτήσεως ἀγαθῶν. *Clem. Strom.* l. 2. p. 371. *A. B. ed. Paris.* p. 443. *ed. Potter.*

(*i*) *Esse autem principem illorum (caelorum) αβραξας, et propter hoc ccclxv. nu-*

merum habere in se. Iren. l. 1. c. 23 p. 99. ed. Grabe.

(*k*) Εἶναι δὲ τὸν ἀρχόντα αὐτῶν φησὶν Ἀβραξας. ἢ γὰρ ψήφος τῆ ονοματὸς τῶν. τ. ξ. ε. ἑξακῶν σημαίνει τὸν ἀριθμὸν. *H. F. l. 1. c. 4. p. 195. D.*

where the collection is very large, I thought they were too numerous, too costly, and too heathenish, to be remains of any christian sect. SECT. 16.

SECT. XVII. *Of the Number, Costliness, and heathenish Origin of those Gems called Abraxaei.*

THEY are, I say, very numerous. The collections that have been made of these things are very large; and many more may be in being, not yet discovered: and others undoubtedly totally lost. The costliness appears in the number, and in the materials. They are indeed too considerable to have been the production and possession of all the christians of the first three centuries, though they had all taken delight in such things. That they are heathenish and Egyptian, is obvious at first sight. And truly Montfaucon was in the right, to let his plates of Abraxas follow his Egyptian deities. I put in the margin (1) some passages from him, acknowledging all these three particulars, their numbers, costliness, and

O 2

heathenish

(1) I. Quis putaret portentosam illam religionem a viris christianam religionem profitentibus adoptandam, et cum sacris ejus mysteriis commiscendam fore? Quis illam de diis ineptam monstrosamque opinionem nationis omnium supersticiosissimæ cum arcanis sanctissimisque veræ religionis mysteriis jungendam unquam credidisset? Illud tamen secundo ecclesiæ sæculo fecere Gnostici, Basilidiani et Valentini. Irenæus, Epiphanius, Hieronymus, alique patres, hæreticæ hujusmodi impietatis ceu specimen tantum dederunt: monumenta ab illis hæreticis relicta, quæ ad usque nostram ætatem devenerunt, multa nos docent, quæ, iis indiciis destituta, in æternam inducta oblivionem fuissent.

II. Musæa multa per Europam innumeras pene insculptas gemmas subministrant, ubi cum nominibus sacris Iao, quod idem est atque Jehova Sabaoth, Adonai, frequentius cum nomine Abraxas, figuræ visuntur sive galli, sive canis, leonis, item simiæ, sphingis. In iis etiam conspiciuntur Isis, Osiris, Serapis, Harpocrates, Canopus, Scarabæus, et quicquid Ægyptii in deorum numerum retulerant. Illud autem docent gemmæ illæ, quæ ideo Abraxas vocantur, quia illud nomen frequentius quam alia nomina, ibi occurrit. *Montf. Antiquité expliquée. L. iii. c. 1. Tom. 2. P. ii. p. 353.*

SECT. 17. heathenish origin. For he says, there are in the cabinets of Europe, almost innumerable engraved gems of this kind; and they have on them the figures or images of the cock, the dog, the lion, the ape and the sphinx; all well known to be symbols of heathen deities, some of one god, some of another. They have also on them, beside Iao, Adonai, and Abraxas, the names and images of Isis, Osiris, Serapis, Harpocrates, Canopus, Scarabæus, and every kind of thing which the Egyptians placed among their gods. Of these figures Montfaucon has six-and-thirty plates well filled. They are so numerous, that he found it needful for the sake of order and perspicuity, to divide them into several classes, seven in number; which I place in the margin (*m*).

SECT. XVIII. *Of the Derivation and Meaning of the Word Abraxas, and to what the Basilidians applied it.*

SECT. 18. BEFORE I proceed any farther in this argument, I would observe concerning the word Abraxas, that many learned men have enquired into its derivation and meaning. Beausobre, in whom the opinions of some others may be seen, hath given

(*m*) Ex ista, ut videtur, officina diffusus est ille ingens lapillorum numerus, qui in multis Europæ museis visuntur, quorumque copia in dies nova eruitur. Plusquam sexaginta in hoc cœnobio sunt. *Cap. 3. n. i. p. 357.* Alia hujusmodi bene multa variis ex locis amuleta corrasimus. Hæc cum iis conjuncta, quæ Chiffletus in editione libelli Joannis Mæcarii publicavit, et cum iis quæ aliis in libris sunt emissæ, amplam efficient collectionem, quam septem in classes distribuimus. Prima classis est Abraxæorum schematum cum capite

galli secunda eorum, quorum vel caput vel corpus leonis est, quorum inscriptio sæpe est Mithras: tertia eorum, quæ vel inscriptionem, vel figuram Serapidis habent: quarta eorum quæ vel Anubim vel Scarabæos, vel serpentes aut sphingas, aut similes præferunt: quinta eorum, quæ figuras exhibent humanas, vel alatas, vel alis carentes: sexta est inscriptionum absque figuris, et inscriptionum Hebræarum: septima eorum quæ insolitam, portentosioremque formam præ se ferunt. *Ib. n. ii. p. 358.*

given a probable solution (*n*) of it, which I shall notice here-
after. SECT. 18.

I must also premise, that many learned moderns affirm, that the (*o*) Basilidians used to call the supreme god Abraxas. For this they have the authority of Jerom (*p*), and of the author of the additions to Tertullian's book (*q*) of Prescriptions. But these writers are mistaken, as we may conclude from Irenæus, whose authority is much better. From him we learn their opinion was, (*r*) that the father of all was ineffable, or without a name. He also assures us, that Abraxas (*s*) was the first of their 365 heavens, or the prince of the angels that resided in them. Indeed I think, if Abraxas had been their name for the Supreme Deity, Irenæus would have mentioned it at the beginning of his article, and not at the end, in his account of their notion about the heavens.

Epiphanius seems to say, they (*t*) place the power, or prince Abrifax, at the head of their powers or principalities. Philaster has not one word about Abraxas in his article of Basilides,

(*n*) *Histoire de Manich.* T. ii. p. 55, 56.

(*o*) *Ibid.* T. ii. p. 52—54. See also Grabe's notes upon Irenæus, on the word Abraxas, p. 99.

(*p*) Tunc Basilides summum Deum Abraxas cum 365 Æonibus commentatus est. *Adv. Lucif.* p. 304. *In.*

Ut Basilides, qui omnipotentem Deum appellat Abraxas, et eundem secundum Græcas literas, et annui cursus numerum dicit in solis circulo contineri: quem ethnici, sub eodem numero aliarum literarum, vocant *Mythram*. *In. Os.* c. iii. p. 1392.

(*q*) Postea Basilides hæreticus erupit: hic esse dicit summum Deum nomine Abraxan, a quo mentem creatam, quam græce *νοῦς* appellat. *De Præf.* c. 46. p. 214. 41. *Fran.* 1597.

(*r*) Innatum autem et innominatum patrem. *Iren.* l. i. c. 23. p. 98. *Gr.*

(*s*) *Vid.* p. 98 of this chapter, note (*i*).

(*t*) Δεγει δὲ τῆς ὑπερανῶ τῆς ὀνομασίας, καὶ ἀρχὴν ἀβραταξ. κ. τ. λ. *Hær.* 24. n. vii.

The name is found written both ways in ancient authors, Abraxas and Abrifax. Il est vrai que on lit Abrifax et Abraxas, en mettant un X (Ξ) pour une S (Σ) mais outre qu'il l'a falu, afin que les lettres numerales fissent le nombre de trois-cens soixante-cinq, c'est qu'il est assez ordinaire aux Grecs de Mettre le ξ pour Σιγμα un X pour une S. Les exemples en sont frequens dans *Platon*. Les Atheniens en particulier le faisoient. *Beaujobre Hif. de Manich.* Tom. ii. p. 56.

SECT. 18. lides, though it be longer than usual. Augustin only says, (u) it was with them a sacred name, because it contained in it the number 365. Tillemont says little of the meaning of Abraxas, because he found I suppose but little of it in the antient authors which he perused. I have inserted in the note below (x) all that he says of the Basilidians; likewise (y) what he further mentions concerning this name.

S E C T. XIX. *It probable referred to their philosophical Arcana.*

SECT. 19. **I**F the Basilidians made use of the word Abraxas, as it appears from Irenæus (x) they did; it is very probable, they applied it to the arcana of their philosophy, and not to their theology. Jerom assures us, (a) that it is the same with *Mythras*. Now *Mythras* is the deity which the Persians worship, or the Sun. This at once explains, why Abraxas is said to be the chief of the 365 heavens, or angels, who reside in them, and rule over the 365 days of the year. For the Sun being the fountain of light, and the immediate cause of day, may with great propriety be said to preside over all the days of the year. He may also, in the hieroglyphical language, be said to contain in himself the parts of which the year is composed,

(u) Quod trecentos sexaginta quinque cœlos esse dicebat, quo numero dierum annus includitur. Unde etiam quasi sanctum nomen commendabat, quod est ἀβραξας: cujus nominis literæ, secundam Græcam supputationem, eundem numerum complent. *Hæc. iv. Tom. vi. p. 4. Venet. 1570.*

(x) S. Jerome contoit apparemment ces dieux imaginaires lorsqu'il dit, que Basilide avoit inventé 365 eons ou siècles avec un

soverain Dieu Abraxas. Car a cause que ce mot d'Abraxas ou Abrafax selon d'autres contient dans le chiffre Grec le nombre de 365. Les Basilidiens faisoient un nom sacre. *Mem. Eccle. Basilid. T. ii. p. 220.*

(y) Abraxas ou Abrafax noms superstitieux parmi les Basilidiens, et peut etre leur Dieu. *H. p. 220,*

(x) *Vid. p. 98 of this chap. note (i).*

(a) *Ibid. p. 101. note (p).*

posed, and to rule over it. The word Abraxas is made up of those elements of the Greek alphabet, which in numeration (*b*) have the value of 365. It is therefore a technical term, and is much in the spirit of the cabbalistic or oriental philosophy. This joined with that hieroglyphical turn, for which the Egyptians were remarkable, will account for the emblematical figures, that appear on several of those gems and stones, called by Montfaucon, (*c*) Abraxæi. There is, however, no sufficient evidence to prove, that all his classes are entitled to that name; because on very many, that word is not found. And there is still less proof, that they belonged to the Basilidians.

(*b*) $\alpha=1$ $\beta=2$ $\epsilon=100$ $\alpha=1$ $\xi=60$ $\alpha=1$
 $\epsilon=200$ $1+2+100+1+60+1+200=365$.
Μιθρᾶς eundem numerum valet. *Vid.*
Spanb. Hist. Ecc. secundi seculi de Basilidianis.

(*c*) Extra seriem vulgare, quæ in nummis et marmoribus adhibetur, formarum ponimus eas, quæ in amuletis, vulgo *Talismans*, usurpantur. Amuleta autem hujusmodi, in gemmis et lapillis variæ formæ et magnitudinis insculpta, Abraxas etiam vocantur, et magno numero visuntur in museis variis, in nostroque nominatim non pauca, portentosis figuris, præstigiis characteribusque non vulgaribus oppleta. . . . Hi vero Basilidiani, a Basilide parente nuncupati, virtutes et angelos multos esse putabant; quorum primum et præcipuum, atque, ut ait Epiphanius, superiorem angelorum virtutem ac principium, Ab-afax nuncupabant: quia hæ literæ, si numerice accipiantur, $\tau\xi$, id est 365, conficiunt, quot scilicet diebus sol cursum absolvit. . . totidemque virtutes numerabant. . . His itaque 365 virtutibus

totidem anni dies designabant; vel singulas singulis diebus præesse somniabant: quibus omnibus præfieri ac dominari Abraxam suum, sive solem, opinabantur. Hinc est, quod hanc virtutem *Ἀβραξᾶξ*, (frequenter item *Ἀβραξᾶς* conscribunt) cum radiis aliisque solaribus symbolis depingant: videlicet, in lapillis et gemmis. . . . His porro omnibus solem subindicant. Nam Gallus Gallinaceus, utpote solis prænuntius, solis symbolum est. Flagellum autem, equis solaribus agitandis instrumentum: unde in multis hujusmodi Abraxæis gemmis equorum quadriga præfertur, aurigante juvene radiato, videlicet sole. . . Leo item, maxime radiatus solem designat, stellisque stipatur: ut subindicetur, quemadmodum Leo inter animalia, sic solem inter astra, principem obtinere locum. Est ubi etiam ad typum Leonis *Μιθρᾶς*, aliquando *Μιθρᾶξ*, inscribitur; quo nomine solem gentiles vocabant. Hic vero cultus à Persis ad Romanos et Græcos emanaverat. *Montfaucon. Palæogra. Græc. Lib. 2. c. 8. p. 177, 178.*

SECT. XX. *The Gems called Abraxaei were used by the Heathens as Charms.*

SECT. 20.

EVERY one knows, that in the system of antient mythology, Apollo and the Sun were the same. Apollo was also the god (*d*) of healing. On this account, in the true spirit of hieroglyphics and mythology, these gems were undoubtedly used by the heathens, and probably were used by some superstitious christians, who being but lately converted, still retained a relish for their former absurdities, as amulets or charms, to drive away agues and other diseases. It is not unlikely, that such were found among the orthodox, as well as among the Basilidians. For Montfaucon acknowledges it, and indeed proves it (*e*) by a quotation from Chrysostom, that long after the Basilidian heresy was extinct, the Christians at Antioch used to bind brass coins of Alexander the Great about their feet and heads, to keep off, or drive away diseases. It is nothing wonderful then, if in Egypt, a country over-run with superstition, some of the new converts to christianity should weakly join with the heathens, in the use of charms and amulets.

(*d*) Inventum medicina meum est; oper-
ferque per orbem

Dicor: et herbarum subiecta po-
tentia nobis

Ovid. Met. l. 1. v. 521, 2.

(*e*) Consuetudo illa superstitiosa gestandi numismata Alexandri Magni, ac si vim quandam opitulandi habuissent, apud christianos Antiochenos vigeat. In quem vere damnandum morem sic invehitur Chrysostomus in catachesi secunda ad populum Antiochenum: Quid de illis dicatur

inquit, qui incantationibus et ligamentis utuntur, quique capiti pedibusque suis nummos Æneos Alexandri Macedonis alligant. Hæccine spes nostra? An post crucem et mortem servatoris in regem profanæ religionis spem nostram habebimus? *Montfaucon's Antiq. Expl. p. 373.*

Jam supra vidimus in multorum lapillarum inscriptionibus, eos ad morbos curandos fuisse datos. Hujusmodi præstigiæ in omnibus pene christianismi sæculis usurpatæ sunt. *Ibid. 377, 8.*

SECT.

SECT. XXI. *The Christians accused of worshipping Serapis.*

THIS appears to be fact, from a letter of the emperor SECT. 21.
 Adrian preserved by Vopiscus (*f*). A common report was it seems then spread in Egypt, that the christians worshipped Serapis. The letter (*g*) goes so far as to say, that the Jews, the Samaritans, and the Christians; that even the chief master of the synagogue; the christian presbyters and bishops, and even the patriarch himself, worshipped Serapis, as well as Christ. Had this accusation been confined to a part of the Christians, or Jews; or had any particular sort of heretics been mentioned, one might have thought it possible. But the charge is so general, that it can never be true. We must therefore seek for something in the customs of those times, which will account for the rise of such a calumny. And, I think, the use of amulets, which it is not improbable prevailed among some of the christians in Egypt, as we are sure it afterwards did at Antioch, will account for it. The emperor makes no mention of the Basilidians, but charges the christians at large with the crime. It may therefore as well be attributed to the catholics, as to them. The truth of the matter seems to be this. The emperor knew very little about the

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christians,

(*f*) *Hist. August. Script. T. ii. p. 719. et seq. ed. Lug. Bat. 1671.*

(*g*) In Ægypto orta fama et calumnia est, christianos Serapin colere. Unde Hadrianus in epistola sua apud Vopiscum hæc habet: Ægyptum, quam mihi laudabas, Serviane carissime, totam didici levem, pendulam, et ad omnia famæ momenta volitantem. Illi, qui Serapin colunt, christiani

sunt, devoti sunt Serapidí, qui se Christi episcopos dicunt. Nemo illic archi-synagogus Judæorum, nemo Samarites, nemo Christianorum Presbyter; non Mathematicus, non Aruspex, non Alyptes. Ipse Ille Patriarcha, cum Ægyptum venerit, ab aliis Serapidem adorare, ab aliis cogitur Christum. *Montfaucon Palæo. Græ. p. 178.*

SECT. 21. christians, and took up this opinion from common report. He very probably heard, that some christians did use such kind of amulets, on which, among other things, the name of Serapis was engraved: and as the heathens, in a like situation, would pay a particular regard to the God from whom they expected the cure, and were continually in the use of joining together the worship of all sorts of deities; to him it would appear a very natural conclusion, that the christians, who used these amulets, worshipped Serapis, as well as Christ.

SECT. XXII. *An Examination of Montfaucon's Figures.*

SECT. 22. **B**Y an examination of particulars, as given by Montfaucon himself, I shall clearly prove, that these gems are of heathenish origin. Many of the figures and inscriptions on them are to the last degree obscene and idolatrous, and consequently could not be the production of any christian sect whatever. They must be Pagan, and for the most part Egyptian. "It appears to me, (says Beausobre) (*b*) altogether incredible, "that a sect which made profession of christianity, should "have adopted the monsters adored by the Egyptians; or that "a man, who boasted of deriving his doctrine from Matthias, "and from an interpreter of St. Peter, and who received the "gospels, and the epistles of St. Paul, should make images of "the Deity, at a time when christians had the most excessive "aversion to all sorts of images, even the most innocent."

This first
class.

The first class of figures in Montfaucon, is of such as have at the top a cock's head, which refers to the Sun (*i*), or his influences,

(*b*) *Hist. Manich. T. ii. c. iv. p. 51.*

(*i*) Abraxas cum galli capite triginta
sex numero proferimus. . . Gallus sine dubio

symbolum solis est, qui flagellum tenet,
quasi concitandis equis. Aliquando etiam
sol vocatur. Huic galli caput tribuitur,
quia

influences, as he himself owns. The figures in this class are 36, and are all after the Egyptian manner. Notwithstanding therefore the word Abraxas be found on some of these, it is no proof that they were the productions of the Basilidians, since they refer to no doctrine of christianity, nor to any of their peculiar notions. It may be rather conjectured from hence with some degree of probability, that the word was of heathenish origin, perhaps invented and used by the oriental cabbalists, from whom they adopted it, together with other philosophical arcana.

His second (*k*) class is of such, as have the head, or body, of a lion. The inscription on these is most commonly, Mythras. The lion we know to be an Egyptian hieroglyphic for strength, and also for the vehement heat of the sun. From the figure being radiated, there can be no doubt but it refers to the sun. This joined with the inscription, Mythras, shows, that it is of heathenish and Egyptian origin.

His second class

His third class is of those stones, which either have (*l*) the figure of Serapis, or his name, inscribed on them. One of these represents on one side, Isis sitting on a lotus naked, with

His third class.

P 2

the

quia hæc avis solem prænuntiat: ubi observandum, schemata hæc omnia Abraxæa vel ad solem, vel ad ejus operationes referri, quemadmodum et aliæ pene omnes Ægyptiacæ figuræ. *Mon. ubi sup. p. 358.*

(*k*) Abraxæa secundæ classis schemata frequentissime occurrunt, variisque modis. *Ibid. l. 3. c. 4. n. 1. p. 360.*

Aliquando item leonem designant modo stellis stipatum, modo radiis fulgentem. Sæpe figuram radiatam effingunt capite leonino, serpentino corpore. *Pal. Græ. p. 178. See also p. 100 of this chapter, note (m) Secunda Classis. and p. 103. note (c).*

(*l*) In aliqua vero gemma Capelliani Musæi,—Isis loto insidens nuda, cum luna imposita capiti radiato dexteram erigit, sinistra flagellum tenet: in conspectu vero ejus, simia erecta cum ithyphallo. Circum autem inscribitur, *ΕΙΣ ΖΕΥΣ ΣΕΡΑΠΙΣ*, unus Jupiter Serapis. Ab altera vero gemmæ facie altera inscriptio legitur, ubi Abraxas memoratur. *Ibid. p. 178.*

In tabula sequenti alia D. Capelli Senatoris Veneti Ifidem repræsentat flori loti insidentem, ante quam simia est aut cercopithecus cum inscriptione, *ΕΙΣ ΖΕΥΣ ΣΕΡΑΠΙΣ*.—In posticæ partis inscriptione nihil intelligitur

SECT. 22. the moon placed on a radiated head. Her right hand is raised up, and in her left hand she holds a whip. Before her stands an ape, or cercopithecus, in a very obscene posture. The inscription is, *Serapis is the one Jupiter*. This, and several others in the same plate, are extremely obscene; and though the word Abraxas is found there, yet from several of the symbols it plainly appears, that they are pagan, and that the god to whose honour they were consecrated was Bacchus; as will be more apparent from some under the next class. The situations of some of the figures, which are particularly mentioned in the quotations, together with the introducing Serapis, Cerberus, and Apis, demonstrate plainly, that these stones are monuments of pagan Egyptian superstition.

His
fourth
class.

On the gems of the fourth class (*m*) are sphinxes, apes, and other animals of that sort. He particularly describes one having on it a winged sphinx, with a serpent placed just before it. The head of the serpent is ornamented with those insignia, which are appropriated to Egyptian deities; and on the reverse is this inscription, *To the honour of father Bacchus*. From which inscription, considered in connection with the symbols which we have mentioned as belonging to this class, it plainly appears, that Bacchus was the deity in honour of whom these

gems

gitur usque ad nomen Abraxas. — Alia imago Serapidem repræsentat victoriam manu tenentem. — Serapis hic canem cerberum trino capite ad pedes habet; quo confirmabatur id, quod supra dicebamus, nempe, Serapidem pro Plutone habitum fuisse. *Antiq. Ex. p. 362.*

In aliis lapillis Isis loto insidens, vel Apis stipatus stellis conspicitur. Est ubi videas ranas insculptas, caneros, monstra varia ex animalibus composita. Obscenæ passim figuræ, inter hujusmodi symbola deprehenduntur; Phalli, ithyphalli, et similia: quæ omnia qua mente cum Chris-

tianis mysteriis homines illi, qui sese Christianos mentiebantur, admiscuerint, quis divinare possit? *Pal. Gr. p. 179.*

(*m*) Sphinxes atque simæ similiter in hisce lapillis occurrunt. Quæ ex museo sanctæ Genovesæ est imago, sphingem exhibet alatum, quæ serpentem coram se positum habet, et ornatum capitis gestat, Ægyptiacis numinibus proprium. In postica parte circa uvam legitur hæc inscriptio, *Hon. Pat. Bib.* quæ significat, ut R. P. Molinetus putat, *Honori Patris Bibliarii aut Liberi.* *Ibid. p. 364.*

gems were wrought. And as Macrobius (*n*) hath informed us, that Apollo and Bacchus are the same deities, the conjecture and observations of Beaufobre (*o*) are confirmed, that Abraxas, or Abraxas, is derived from two Greek words, which signify Magnificent Saviour. For the epithet *αβρος*, the first part of Abraxas, is particularly applied to Apollo and to Bacchus. No objection can be framed against this from the name Serapis being so often used in those of the former class. For Serapis is there said to be the one Jupiter. On other gems, as Montfaucon asserts (*p*), he was considered as the

(*n*) Aristoteles, qui theologumena scripsit, Apollinem, et Liberum patrem unum eundemque Deum esse, cum multis argumentis asserit, &c.—Euripides in Licymnio Apollinem Liberumque unum eundemque Deum esse significans scribit, *Δεσποτα Φιλοδαφνε, Βαυχε, Παιαν, Απολλον, ευλυγε.*

Nulla ex his dubitatio fit Solem ac Liberum patrem ejusdem numinis habendum. Absolute tamen hoc argumentis liquidioribus adstruetur. In sacris enim hæc religiosi arcani observatio tenetur, ut soli cum in supero, id est, in diurno hemisphærio est, Apollo vocitetur: cum in infero, id est nocturno, Dionysus, qui est Liber pater, habeatur.—Solem Liberum esse, manifeste pronuntiat Orpheus hoc versu:

Ηλιος ον Διονυσον επικλησιν καλεουσιν.

Macrobii Sat. I. 1. c. 18. p. 199, 200, 202.

(*o*) Je croi donc qu' *Abraxas* ou *Abraxas* est composé de deux mots Grecs. Le premier est *Αβρος* qui a diverses significations, mais entre autres celles de *Beau*, de *Magnifique*. C'est une epithete ou un attribut du Dieu appelé *Iao*. Comme on le voit dans cet oracle d' Apollon de Claros:

Χειματι μεν τ' Α'ιδην, Δια δε ειαρος αειρηται

Ηελιον δε θεει, μεταπωρω δ' αβρον Ιαω.

—Mais *αβρος* signifie aussi *Beau* superbe *Majestueux*; de là vient *αβροβατειν* de Enri-

pide, pour dire une demarche *superbe Majestueuse*.—Dans les vers que je viens d'alloquer *Iao* est *Bacchus*. Mais Bacchus est le Soleil.—*αβρος* est une epithete du Soleil. Le second mot Grec dont *Abraxas* est composé est ou celui de *Σαω* qui est souvent employé dans *Homere*, et qui veut dire, *sauver, guérir*; ou celui de *Σα* qui signifie *salut, santé*.—Et ce qui confirme encore cette conjecture c'est la figure LXIX de Chifflet dont l'inscription commence par les mots Grecs, *Αγω σα Σαω α Α. Ω.* Ces paroles sont prononcées par *Abraxas* dont le nom vient aussi-tôt apres. C'est moi, dit il, qui vous conduis vous et tout ce qui vous regarde. C'est moi, qui vous conserve, ou qui vous sauve. Je suis Alpha et Omega. Il y a du dessous de l'inscription un serpent qui tient sa queue dans sa gueule, et dans le cercle qu'il decrit ces trois lettres Greques TEE qui font le nombre 365. Le serpent qui est d'ordinaire un embleme de l'éternité est ici celui du soleil et le ses revolutions. *Hist. de Manich, tom. ii. p. 55, 56. n. vii.*

(*p*) Serapis hic canem cerberum trino capite al pedes habet: quo confirmabatur id quod supra dicebamus, nempe Serapidem pro Plutone habitum fuisse. *Mont. An. Ex. p. 362.*

SECT. 22. the same with Pluto. It seems, therefore, that the attributes and insignia of Apollo and Bacchus may with propriety, in the Egyptian mythology, be also given to him. This appears to have been really the case; for the further back we trace the Greek theogony, which undoubtedly owed its origin to the Egyptian and oriental mythology, the more clearly we see, that Jupiter, Pluto, Sol, and Bacchus, are the same (*q*). It is to the present purpose to observe, that *αβρας* is an epithet applied to the god *Ιαω*, (*r*) which is a name frequently found on these gems, and even joined with Abraxas.

His fifth
class.

This name is frequently found on the gems of Montfaucon's fifth class. On these also there are human figures, and joined with the name *Iao*, are the names (*s*) *Sabaoth*, *Adonai*, *Eloai*, &c. It is from hence that the strongest argument hath been drawn, to prove, that these gems belonged to some Christian sect, because these are the names of the true God in the Old Testament. But an observation of Origen in his answer to Celsus, (*t*) will set aside the force of this. He says, they who framed these incantations being neither well skilled in magic, nor rightly understanding the sacred scriptures, have mixed together things of different sorts. Thus from magic they have
got

(*q*) Εἰς Ζεὺς, εἰς Ἀδὴς, εἰς Ἡλῖος, εἰς Διόνυ-
σος. Hujus versus auctoritas fundatur ora-
culo Apollinis Clarii. *Macrob. Sat. l. i.*
c. 18. p. 202.

(*r*) See p. 109. note o.

(*s*) Quinta eorum, quæ figuras exhibent
humanas vel alatas vel alis carentes. *Mont.*
An. Ex. p. 358.

Voces *Ιαω*, *σαβαωθ*, *αδωναι*, *αβραξας*,
μιθραξ, frequentissime occurrunt. In aliquo
lapide jaspide ejusdem Capelliani musei, ubi
ab altera gemmæ facie figura visitur humano
corpore galli gallinacei capite, cruribus et

tibiis in serpentum capita definentibus, quæ
dextra flagellum sinistra scutum tenet, voce
Ιαω inscriptum barbaris aliis circumpositis
nominibus. *Pal. Græ. p. 179.*

(*t*) Οτι οἱ ταῦτα συντάξαμενοι, ὅτε τὰ
μαγείας νοησαντες, ὅτε τὰ τῶν θεῶν γραφῶν δια-
κριναντες, παντ' ἐφύραν ἀπο μὲν μαγείας τὸν
Ιαλδαβαωθ, καὶ τὸν *Αἰαφαῖον*, καὶ τὸν *ὠραῖον*.
ἀπο δὲ τῶν Εβραϊκῶν γραφῶν, τὸν *Ιαω* παρ'
Εβραίοις ὀνομαζόμενον, καὶ τὸν *Σαβαωθ*, καὶ
τὸν *Αδωναιον*, καὶ τὸν *Ελωαιον*. κ. τ. λ. *Contra*
Cels. l. 6. p. 297. Cantab. Opp. T. i. p.
656. D. E. Bened.

got *Jaldabaoth*, *Astaphæus*, and *Horæus*. From the Hebrew Scriptures they have taken the Hebrew names *Iao*, *Sabaoth*, *Adonai*, *Eloai*. Wherefore Origen esteemed it no proof, that these incantations belonged to Christians, because the Hebrew names of the true God were mixed with others. On the contrary, he asserts (*u*) that they belonged not to any Christian sect, but to those who were aliens from our common salvation, and who never would give the title of Saviour, or God, or Master, or Son of God, to Jesus. One of the gems of this fifth class which hath *Iao* on the face, (*x*) is inscribed on the reverse with these words: "Grant me favour and victory because I have uttered thy hidden and ineffable name." This is founded on a superstitious notion which was entertained among some of the Jews, that whoever could rightly pronounce the name Jehovah, had great favour with God, and could even work miracles. This then is more likely to be the work of some magician, than an amulet belonging to any Christian sect. Montfaucon mentions (*y*) two under this class, with the name Alexander on each of them. These are undoubtedly of heathenish origin, and were probably intended for the same purpose as those mentioned before, which the people of Antioch used in order to drive away diseases.

In

(*u*) ως ὁ χριστιανὸν λόγος, ἀλλὰ πάντα ἀλλοτρῶν σωτηρίας, καὶ ὁδῶν ἐπιγραφόμενων Ἰησοῦν, ἡ Σωτὴρ, ἡ Θεὸς, ἡ διδάσκαλος, ἡ υἱὸς Θεοῦ. *Con. Cels. l. 6. p. 296. Cantab. Opp. T. i. p. 654. D. Bened.*

(*x*) Ab altera gemmæ facie ita legitur, Δὸς μοι χάριν νικῆν ὅτι ἐρεχθὰ σὺ τὸ κρυπτόν καὶ ἀλὶχωφρονὸν ὄνομα. reliqua ignota et barbara sunt. Eorum vero sensus est. *Da mihi gratiam et victoriam, quia occultum et ineffabile nomen tuum pronuntiavi.* Illud autem in-

effabile nomen in altera gemmæ facie expressum est. *Iao* apud Græcos, veteres autem πῆν exprimunt. Vocem *Αλιχωφρον* barbaram, forte pro ἀνεκφώνητον positam, ineffabile vertimus. *Pal. Græ. p. 179.*

(*y*) In alia ejusdem (Capelliani Musei) δὸς χάριν Ἀλεξάνδρῃ *da gratiam Alexandri.* In alia vero gemma legitur Ἀλεξάνδρῃ. Quo pertineat autem Alexander vel Alexandra ignoramus. *Pal. Græc. p. 179.*

SECT. 22.

His sixth
class.

In the sixth class is inserted the description of a costly (z) monument, with the word Abraxas on it. The figures are exceedingly obscene, and undoubtedly heathenish. In the same plate is another, with an Osiris treading upon the heads of two crocodiles. Can any thing be more plainly pagan and Egyptian?

SECT. XXIII. *These Gems were all undoubtedly heathenish.*

SECT. 23.

THESE and many others are so clearly of pagan origin, that it is somewhat wonderful Montfaucon could make such large collections, and yet not perceive this. And it is more wonderful still, that a learned writer of our own, who is sometimes sufficiently cautious, especially with respect to charges brought against heretics, should approve of such explanations. His opinion of the Basilidians must be very low indeed, to think, that they who professed themselves Christians, could adopt the Roman and Egyptian deities into their worship, and even be a means of transmitting the Egyptian idolatry to the Romans. He carelessly quotes a passage from Prudentius

(z) En duo Abraxæa schemata.—Ambo in lapide nigro Ægyptiaco quem vocant Basalten. Primum est quinque pollicum longitudine, latitudineque trium. In sublimiore lapidis parte est quadratum oblongum et fastigiatum ut frontispicium templi. In fastigio autem Ιαω descriptum est. et nomen Abrasax. Ad dextram et ad sinistram frontispicii illius hinc et inde duo ceropitheci manus efferentes versus Ιαω quasi venerabundi hoc gestu, καὶ τῇ τῷ αἰδούσῃ εὐεργεσι honorare videntur. Sub frontispicio illo vir cujus caput ornatu Ægyptiaco distinguitur, alas et caudem avis habet.—Hic

etiam stupendus τῇ τῷ αἰδούσῃ εὐεργεσι.—In hoc item schemate Osiris conspicitur.—Isis loto insidens et aliquot aves.—Sequens schema non minus singulare, ejusdem circiter atque præcedens magnitudinis est, ex lapide nigro quem Basalten vocant, qui lapis ad utramque partem insculptus est. In altera facie Osiris, insolitam habens formam, qui duobus pedibus, duorum crocodilorum capitibus insistit. Capite gestat caput aliud suo majus, cui imponitur calathus Serapidis symbolum frequens. *An. Ex. p. 370. Pl. 167.*

Prudentius as if to prove this, (a) when it is most evident, that Prudentius is inveighing against the heathen Egyptians and Romans, on account of that multiplicity of senseless stupid objects, which they adored as gods. Are the Basilidians to be blamed, because the Romans adopted the Egyptian deities? It is well known they had done this before Basilides was in being, with respect to other nations, as well as Egypt.

SECT. XXIV. *From hence came the superstitious Custom of using Abrasadabra as a Charm.*

IT is not improbable, that from this word Abrasax came the superstitious custom of writing the word Abrasadabra (b) upon a slip of paper, in order to cure a semitertian ague. The most ancient writer, who speaks of this, is Serenus Samonicus, (c) preceptor to the younger Gordian. He certainly did not make profession of Christianity; and from hence there is a collateral probability, that it was a heathenish charm.

SECT. 24.

Q

Notwith-

(a) Hæc Basilidis figmenta ex Ægypto Romam migrasse constat. Nam in gemmis hisce Basilidianis, Romanorum interdum Deorum figuras ex una parte, et vocabula illa Abraxæa ex altera; atque in nonnullis, Deorum simul Latinorum Ægyptiorumque symbola commixta cernimus: ad quod Prudentius sane alludere videtur:

Isis enim et Serapis et grandi simia cauda,
Et crocodilus id est, quod Juno, Laverna,
Priapus.

Hos tu Nile Deos colis, et tu Tybris
adoras.

*Contra Symmach. l. 2. v. 868. Middleton
Antiq. p. 76.*

(b) On écrit ordinairement *Abracadabra*, mais il faut écrire *Abrasadabra*. Le

C dans les inscriptions Grecques est un S comme tout le monde le sait. *Beauf. Hist. M. p. 56. note.*

(c) Mortiferum magis est, quod Græcis hemitritæum

Vulgatur verbis, hoc nostra dicere lingua
Non potuere ulli, puto, nec voluere parentes.
Inscribis Chartæ, quod dicitur Abraçadabra,
Sæpius et subter repetis, sed detrahe sum-
mam,

Et magis atque magis desint elementa figuris
Singula, quæ semper rapies, et cætera figes,
Donec in angustum redigatur litera conum,
His lino nexis collum redimire memento,
&c.

*Serenus Samonicus de Medic. N. 53. p.
[1598] Fol. Mattaire.*

SECT. 24. Notwithstanding this, Montfaucon, for what reason I do not know, unless because he was determined to father every thing superstitious upon the Basilidians, makes (*d*) him one of that sect.

SECT. XXV. *Beaufobre's Observations on Chifflet, and Arguments against these Gems being Christian.*

SECT. 25. I HAVE argued from the figures given us by Montfaucon. Beaufobre, whose remarks are directed principally against Chifflet, is much of the same opinion, and though he gives due commendation to Chifflet's performance, yet he (*e*) asserts in opposition to him, that the engravings on these stones are evidently Egyptian figures, of the Sun, of Mercury, of Bacchus, of Hecate or the Moon, of Isis, Serapis, and other deities worshipped in Egypt. And he argues against these gems being the invention of the Basilidians.

First,
from the
incred-
ibility of
the thing.

First, from the incredibility of the thing in itself, that a professor of the religion of Jesus, and a philosopher, should make images of the Deity, at a time when Christians had an unconquerable aversion to such figures; and especially, that he should make such monstrous and obscene ones.

Secondly,
from the
silence of
the fa-
thers.

Secondly, he further argues from the silence of the fathers, who wrote against and confuted the Basilidians. Irenæus says not a word of such usages. But should it be said, Irenæus wrote in the west, and therefore might not be so well acquainted with their customs; he observes, that Clement, who

(*d*) Quod inventum Quintus Serenus Samonicus Basilidianus (Medecin Basili-
lien. Gal.) in carminibus suis posuit, ubi
suadet ut in charta describatur. *Ann. Ex.*
p. 377.
(*e*) *Hist. de Man. T. ii. p.* 50, 51, 57.

who lived at Alexandria, in the very center of the Basilidian heresy, would certainly have taken notice of, and reproached them for such impurity and gross idolatry, if it had prevailed among them. Besides, as most of these antiquities are precious stones, they were not used merely as amulets, but as seals or rings. Clement therefore would have had occasion to speak of such things in his *Pædagogus*. For he mentions, (f) and inveighs against superfluous ornaments, particularly pearls and precious stones. The figures attributed to the Basilidians are engraved on such kinds of stones. As he never inveighs against these, or accuses the Basilidians of using them, it is most certain, they were not accustomed to have such. To which may be added, that in his treatise of the best manner of living, (g) where he lays down rules concerning the rings, which Christians may wear consistently with their profession, he strictly forbids their having on the stones, or seals, the representation of idol deities; because they are objects on which a Christian cannot even look without sin. He earnestly warns them against every representation which was contrary to decency and modesty. Could he then omit cautioning the faithful at Alexandria, against the use of those abominable figures, which are now ascribed to the Basilidians; especially as he scruples not, on all fair occasions, to attack the followers of this sect? These figures have every characteristic of the things which he absolutely forbids: they are *idolatrous*, they are *immodest*, they are to the *last degree obscene*.

Q²

To

(f) Λιθὸς δὲ πελὶς ἢ χλωρὸς—μειρακιώδεις ἐστὶ τεθηπέναι. ἐπὶ γὰρ τὰ διαυγὴ τῶν λιθιδίων—ιεσθαι—ὅθεν ἀλλὰ ἡ ἀνοήτων ἐστὶν ἀνδρῶπων—τελευτῶς δὲ ἡγνοήκοτων τὸ θεῖον. κ. τ. λ. *Clem. Pædag. l. 2. c. 12. p. 206. B. C. 207. B. ed. Paris. p. 241, 242. ed. Potteri.*

(g) Οὐ γὰρ εἰδῶλων πρόσωπα ἐναποτυπώτεον· εἰς καὶ τὸ προσεχέειν ἀπειρεται—ἡ κυπέλλα τοῖς

σωφρονέουσιν· πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν ἀκολαζῶν, γεγυμνω-
μενὸς ἐχέει τὰς ἐρωμένους, ἢ τὰς ἐταίρας· ὥς
μὴδὲ ἐδεήσασιν αὐτοῖς, λήθην ποτε ἐγγενέσθαι
δυνήθηται τῶν ἐρωτικῶν παθημάτων, διὰ τὴν ἐνδε-
λεχὴν τῆς ἀκολασίας ὑπομνησιν. *Clem. Alex. Pæd. l. 3. c. 11. p. 247. A. Paris. p. 289. Potteri.*

SECT. 25.

To Clement succeeded Origen. But Origen, so curious to dive into the sentiments and practices of heretics, says not one word either about the Abraxas of Basilides, or the magic and obscene figures of his followers, though he had the fairest opportunity to have done it, when treating at large about the oriental cabalistic philosophy, and the magic of others, in his answer to Celsus.

Eusebius, Cyril of Jerusalem, St. Jerom, and Theodoret, who all lived in the East, are equally silent on this head; and yet certainly, there must at that time have been a very great number of these precious stones; since after the lapse of so many ages, such quantities are every where found in the cabinets of the curious.

SECT. XXVI. *Further Observations on Chifflet.*

SECT. 26.

BEAUSOBRE, after a particular examination of many of the figures in Chifflet, observes, that they rather overthrow, than confirm the system advanced by that writer; because it evidently appears from the figures themselves, that they are pagan, and of Egyptian origin, and could not belong to any sect of Christians. He mentions one of these engravings, (*b*) which represents the figure of a man carrying a sheep on his shoulders, the idea of which he thinks, might be taken from the parable of the good shepherd; and he imagines it might belong to the Simonians; since the impostor Simon, in imitation of our Saviour's expression in that parable, said, that

(*b*) On y voit un homme nud, mais sans aucune marque immodeste, qui charge avec beaucoup de peine une Brebis sur son epaule. Cela a tout a fait l'air de la parabole du Bon Pasteur—Le fameux imposteur Simon avoit imité la pensée du seigneur, et disoit,

que son Helene, qui n'est autre chose que l'Ame, étoit la Brebis perdue, qu'il étoit venu chercher et sauver. Je ne doute pas que cette figure XC ne soit des Simoniens. *Hist. de Manich. T. ii. p. 60. N. IX. 5.*

that his Helena (*i*) was the wandering sheep, which he, the good shepherd, was come to seek and to save. SECT. 26.

Beaufobre proceeds to show, that those gems which have the names of Abraham, or Isaac, or Jacob on them; or the God of either of these patriarchs; or which have the words Sabaoth, or Adonai, or Eloai, are the inventions of the cabalists, or of the Egyptian magicians. Whoever reads him with attention, will plainly see the same conclusion, following from his observations on Chifflet's figures, which I have drawn from those of Montfaucon.

SECT. XXVII. *Of the Names of Angels found on those Gems.*

AS to the names of angels, which Montfaucon (*k*) asserts were in use among the Basilidians, it is evident that those which he mentions were derived from the Ophites, as Origen plainly (*l*) informs us. This is confirmed by the fifteenth figure in Chifflet, and by Beaufobre's observations, (*m*) to which I refer for particulars. SECT. 27.

(*i*) Τὸτο γὰρ ἐστὶν τὸ γεγραμμένον ἐν τῷ Εὐαγγελίῳ, τὸ πρόβατον τὸ πειπλανημένον. *Epi. Har. XXI. No. 3. p. 58. A.*

(*k*) Totidemque (365) virtutes numerabant. Virtutum autem hujusmodi nomina quædam in gemmis Abraxæis expiscamur nempe nota ista Μιχαήλ, Γαβριήλ, Ραφαηλ, Ουριήλ, hæc etiam ignota Αναναήλ, Προχοραιοήλ, Κεφιήλ, Σεριήλ quibus addas

Sataniel ut latine in gemma quadam legitur. *Pal. Græ. l. 2. c. 8. p. 177.*

(*l*) Μηδαμὸς μὲν ὑπὸ χριστιανῶν ονομαζομένων, εἰμὶαι δὲ ὑπὸ Ὀφιδανῶν παραλαμβανομένων. κ. τ. λ. *Con. Cel. L. 5. p. 295. ed. Cantab. Opp. 1. p. 653. D. Bened.*

(*m*) *Hist. de Manich. T. ii. n. XIII. p. 64, 65.*

S E C T. XXVIII. *Conclusions drawn from the foregoing Observations.*

SECT. 28.

UPON a review therefore of the whole of this long discourse, concerning the Abraxas of the Basilidians, and the figures which have been attributed to them, I cannot help concluding, very much in the words of Beaufobre; 1. That Abraxas was not the god of the Basilidians. 2. That this name signifies nothing but the sun, which was never worshipped by them. 3. That the figures both in Chifflet and Montfaucon are for the most part Egyptian. 4. That there is no kind of proof that any of them belonged to the Basilidians. 5. That those which have Iao, Sabaoth, &c. upon them, were the works of magicians, who never made any profession of Christianity. 6. That some of these figures derived their origin from the Simonians and Ophites, who were not Christians either in belief or profession.

S E C T. XXIX. *Of the Scriptures received by Basilides.*

SECT. 29.

I SHALL finish this article by giving an account of the Scriptures which were received by Basilides.

He did not pay great respect to the Old Testament.

According to Irenæus, (*n*) he must have disregarded the Old Testament; or at least he could not give the same authority to that, as he did to the New. Because he asserted, that the

(*n*) Prophetias autem et ipsas a mundi fabricatoribus fuisse ait principibus, proprie autem legem a principe eorum, eum qui eduxerit populum de terra Ægypti.—Patrem misisse Num suum (et hunc esse qui

dicitur Christus) in libertatem credentium ei a potestate eorum qui mundum fabricaverunt.—Et liberatos igitur eos a mundi fabricatoribus. *Ad. Hær. L. 1. C. 23. p. 98.*

the prophecies in the Old Testament were given by those angels, who were the makers and princes of the world; and that the law in particular was promulgated by their chief; by him who brought the people of Israel out of the land of Egypt. Since therefore Jesus Christ, according to him, came to deliver the human race from the power of the princes of the world, and to destroy their works, there must be a kind of opposition between the law and the gospel. As a Christian therefore he could pay no great regard to it. But he looked upon the law, (*o*) as a proper rule, established by the Creator, for the direction of the people of Israel: and though he did not believe it to come from the true God, the father of our Lord Jesus Christ, yet he considered it as a revelation given by an angel, of whom he spoke with respect.

As to the New Testament, it doth not appear but he received the whole, or at least (*p*) the greater part of it.

He received the whole, or at least the greater part of the New.

Jerom indeed says, (*q*) that both Marcion and Basilides were not content with rejecting the Old Testament, but that they also disputed some parts of the New, corrupting the gospels, and cutting off from St. Paul the two epistles to Timothy, the epistle to Titus, and the epistle to the Hebrews. But Jerom frequently wrote with precipitation and passion, when he was reproaching heretics. It ought also to be observed, that Marcion and Basilides were very different in their opinions

(*o*) *Esse autem principem ipsorum (angelorum) eum qui Judæorum putatur esse Deus. Et quondam is suis hominibus id est Judæis voluit subicere reliquas gentes, &c. Ibid.*

(*p*) *Beausobre Hist. de Manich. T. ii. c. 1. n. iv. p. 5. c. iv. N. III. p. 51.*

(*q*) *Marcionem loquor et Basilidem—qui vetus laniant testamentum: tamen eos*

aliqua ex parte ferremus: si saltem in novo continerent manus suas; et non auderent vel evangelistas violare, vel apostolos.—Nonnullas (epistolas) integras repudiandas crediderunt: ad Timotheum videlicet utramque, ad Hebræos, et ad Titum. Hieron. in ep. ad Tit. in Proem. Vol. 4. p. 487. Martiaraynay.

SECT. 29. nions on many points. Marcion (*r*) received only the gospel of St. Luke. Basilides certainly received the gospel of St. Matthew; for there are several references to it in his explanations of doctrines or practices, which are given us by Clement of Alexandria, (*f*) and there is no proof that he rejected the other three. Neither Irenæus, Tertullian, Clement, Origen, or Theodoret, accuse him of this, or of rejecting any of St. Paul's epistles. On the contrary, there is positive evidence from the same Clement, that Isidore, his son, (*t*) received the first epistle to the Corinthians. And there is from Origen a clear proof to the contrary of what Jerom lays to his charge, when he ranks Basilides with Marcion as a corrupter of the gospel: for the former writer, in his answer to Celsus, who accused the Christians in general of corrupting the Scriptures, says, (*u*) That he knew of no Christians who had altered the text of the gospel, except the followers of Valentin and Marcion, and perhaps those of Lucan. This confirms the explanation hereafter given of that passage of Origen, where mention is made of the gospel of Basilides: that Origen means nothing more by that expression, than his commentaries upon the gospel. Ambrose and Jerome copied from Origen.

That Basilides paid great respect to the gospel, is evident from his writing Commentaries (*x*) upon it, which he divided into twenty-four books. Two fragments of these may be seen in Grabe, (*y*) one taken from the thirteenth, the other from the twenty-third Book of these Commentaries. He

(*r*) Μονὴ δὲ κεχρηται τῷ τῷ χαρακτηρί τῷ κατὰ Λουκᾶν Εὐαγγελίῳ. *Epi. ad Hær.* 42. p. 309. D.

Οὗτος ἐκ μὲν τῶν εὐαγγελίων τὸ κατὰ Λουκᾶν ἐδέξατο μόνον. *Theo. Hær. Fab. l. 1. c. 24.* p. 210. D.

(*f*) *Strom.* L. 4. p. 506. C. & *Lib.* 3. p. 426. A. B. See p. 90 of this chap. notes (*i*) and (*k*).

(*t*) *Strom.* L. 3. p. 427. A. & D.

(*u*) *Contr. Cel.* L. 2. p. 77. *Can.* p. 411 Ben. See the passage at length under Lucian, p. 5. note 2.

(*x*) Φησὶν αὐτὸν εἰς μὲν τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον τεσσαρὰ πρὸς τοὺς εἰκοσὶ συντάξαι βιβλία. *Euf. Ecc. Hist.* L. 4. c. 7. p. 120. A.

(*y*) *Spicileg.* T. ii. p. 39, &c.

He also certainly received the epistle to the Romans, as appears from Origen's Commentary upon the fifth chapter, where he quotes the words of chap. vii. 9. when the commandment came, sin revived, and I died. Upon this he observes, (*z*) that Basilides, without attending to the sense and connection, endeavoured to deduce from the former part of the verse, viz. I was alive without the law once, his absurd and nonsensical notion of a Pythagorean metempsychosis; therefore he must have allowed the authority of this epistle: and as he is not accused of rejecting any other of the books of the New Testament, except by St. Jerom, and this in a cursory manner, his name being joined with that of Marcion, there is reason to believe, that he received the whole New Testament as authentic, though he perverted the meaning of many places, and drew from many others very absurd and foolish consequences.

SECT. XXX. *Of the Gospel of Basilides.*

THERE is mention made in Origen's Commentary (*a*) on Luke, of a gospel of Basilides. Ambrose has spoken (*b*) of the same: as hath Jerom (*c*) also. The two last undoubtedly copied it from Origen. The most probable opinion is, that the twenty-four books of Commentaries, which Agrippa Castor speaks of, (*d*) were the very gospel of Basilides.

R

This

(*z*) Ego inquit (Paulus) mortuus sum, caput enim mihi jam reputari peccatum. Sed hæc Basilides non advertens de lege naturali debere intelligi, ad ineptas et impias fabulas sermonem apostolicum traxit in Pythagoricum dogma: id est, quod animæ in alia atque alia corpora transfundantur ex hoc apostoli dicto conatur adstruere. *Orig. Com. in Epist. ad Rom. cap. 5. Tom. ii. p. 530. Basil. 1571.*

Vid. Etiam Grab. Spici. T. ii. p. 43.

(*a*) Ausus est Basilides scribere Evangelium et suo illud nomine titolare. *Homil. in Luc. l. 1. in init.*

(*b*) Ausus est etiam Basilides scribere quod dicitur, secundum Basilidem. *Ambro. Præf. in Com. in Luc. init.*

(*c*) Hæresium facere principia ut est illud — Basilidis atque Apellis, &c. *Hieron Præf. in Comm. in Mat.*

(*d*) *Eus. Hist. Ecc. L. 4. c. 7. p. 120. A.*

SECT. 30. This is the opinion of Beaufobre (*e*), of Fabricius (*f*), and of Mr. Jones (*g*). It indeed appears improbable, that he should compose an apocryphal history of our Saviour, and give it his own name, when he received the other authentic gospels.

SECT. XXXI. *Of the Prophets Barcabbas and Barcoph.*

SECT. 31. **A**S to the prophecies of the prophets Barcabbas and Barcoph, or Parchor (*b*), they were undoubtedly some oriental books, which Basilides met with in his journey into the East, and brought with him to Alexandria; and not forgeries of his own, as Eusebius would have us believe.

SECT. XXXII. *Of the Odes of Basilides.*

SECT. 32. **C**AVE (*i*) makes him, on the authority of Origen, the author of some odes. Grabe seems to doubt the exactness of the reference, (*k*) but he afterwards says, that he found in a manuscript copy some words of Origen to this purpose, that they (the heretics) repeat the hymns of Valentin, and the odes of Basilides.

(*e*) Origene appelle ce livre l'Evangile de Basilide.—Mais S. Clement d'Alexandrie ne nous permet pas de douter, que ce ne fut simplement un Commentaire sur l'Evangile qu' Origene a jugé à-propos d'appeller l'Evangile de Basilide. *Hist. Man. T. ii. n. 2. p. 3, 4.*

On parle d'une Evangile de Basilide, c'étoit un Commentaire sur les Evangiles. *Ibid. T. i. p. 454, and p. 39.*

(*f*) Sed potuit etiam Origines hos libros Commentariorum in Evangelium, appel-

lare Evangelium Basilidis. *Cod. Ap. N. T. T. i. p. 343.*

(*g*) *Canon of the N. T. V. i. p. 217, 18.*

(*b*) Προφητας δε εαυτω ονομασαι Βαρκαβ-
βαν και Βαρχωφ, και αλλες ανταρχτες τινες
εαυτω συνησταιμενον. *Euf. Hist. Ecc. L. 4.
c. 7. p. 120. A.*

Ισιδωρος τε ο βασιλειδα υιος αμα και μαθητης
εν τω πρωτω των προφητων Παρχωφ εξηγητικω,
και αυτος κατα λεξιν γραφει. *Clem; Strom.
L. 6. p. 641. C.*

(*i*) *Hist. Lit. Basilides, p. 31. Geneva.*

(*k*) *Spici. Pat. T. ii. p. 38.*

S E C T.

SECT. XXXIII. *These Things prove the Authenticity and wide Spread of the Scriptures of the New Testament.*

FROM this whole section it appears, that the writings of SECT. 33.
the New Testament were early spread abroad among Christians, and that commentaries and expositions were very soon written on different parts of them, particularly on the gospels. This would tend to make the knowledge of them more general, and to keep them uncorrupted: for by this means those who might attempt to falsify them in any respect, would be the sooner and the more easily detected.



C H A P. III.

*Of Carpocrates and his Followers.*S E C T. I. *Some Account of Carpocrates and Epiphanes from Clement of Alexandria and other antient Authors.*

SECT. I. **W**E come now to the Carpocratians. I shall observe their history and time, their principles in general, their moral principles and manners, and lastly, their testimony to the Scriptures.

Clement of Alexandria says of them in these very words: The (a) followers of Carpocrates and Epiphanes think, that women ought to be common; from whom much reproach has been derived to the Christian name. He informs us, that Epiphanes, whose works also are extant, was the son of Carpocrates, who was an Alexandrian: his mother's name was Alexandria, born in the island Cephalene. He lived to be seventeen years of age only; and after his death was honoured as a god at Sama, in the afore-mentioned island. There they erected to him a temple made of stone, with altars, a grove, and a musæum. And every new moon, on the day when Epiphanes was consecrated, the Cephelenians meet together, and celebrate that birth-day of his with hymns, libations, sacrifices and feastings. He was (b) instructed by his father in the whole circle of sciences, particularly the Platonic philosophy.

(a) Οι δε απο καρποκρατης και επιφανης αναγομενοι, κοινας ειναι τας γυναικας αξιουσιν. Str. l. 3 p. 428. A. B. C.

(b) Επαιδευθη μεν εν παρα τω πατρι την τε εγκυκλιον παιδειαν, και τα πλατωνα. Καθηγησατο δε της μοναδικης γνωσεως. κ. λ. Ibid. B. C.

phy. He was the author of the monadic science; from whom SECT. 1. arose the heresy of the Carpocratians. Clement then proceeds to quote a long passage out of a book of Epiphanes, entitled, of Justice, or Righteousness. Which passage Clement supposes to teach licentiousness, contrary to the doctrine of the gospel.

Theodoret too says, that (c) Carpocrates was an Alexandrian: but Epiphanius (d) calls him a Cephallenian; probably by mistake, his wife having been of that country. Epiphanius gives the like account that Clement does, of the worship paid to Epiphanes by the Cephallenians: and says, that his vast learning was a great inducement to that people to pay him such honour.

May I be permitted to question the truth of this? Surely it could not be a Christian, in whose honour these idolatrous rites were practised. Nor could they be Christians that performed them. That temple must have been raised by heathens. Probably therefore the Epiphanes to whom those honours were given, was some other person, and not Epiphanes the son of Carpocrates, the Christian heretic. Theodoret takes no notice of these things in his chapter of Carpocrates; though Epiphanes is there mentioned; and of whom he says, that (e) he amplified or improved upon his father's doctrine. Nor does Irenæus say any thing of this matter. Indeed Epiphanes is but once mentioned, or occasionally referred to by (f) Irenæus. Nor is he at all mentioned by Eusebius, in his Ecclesiastical History; though he has twice mentioned the Carpocratians: and in one of those places, beside Jewish and Samaritan

(c) *H. F. l. i. c. 5. in.*

(d) *H. 42. n. iii. p. 210. D.*

(e) *Και επιφανης δε τωτε πας δια πλατω-
νικης ηγμενος παιδεια την τωτε μυθολογίαν επλα-*

τυνεν. Ibid. p. 197. B.

(f) *Vid. l. i. c. xi. [al. v.] p. 52. Mass.
p. 51. Gr. et conf. Epiph. H. 32. n. vii.*

SECT. I. Samaritan heresies, all these following, the (g) Menandrians, the Marcionites, the Carpocratians, the Valentinians, the Basilidians, and Saturnilians. I might add, that it was not customary for Christians to erect temples in the former part of the second century, in which time Epiphane is supposed to have died.

That I may at once take in the chief things relating to Epiphane, I would now farther observe, that (b) Epiphane speaks of Epiphane in the chapter of Secundus the Valentinian. And it is now common with learned (i) moderns, to consider him as a Valentinian. Whether rightly or not, I cannot stay to enquire.

SECT. II. *Of the Time in which Carpocrates lived.*

SECT. 2. BARONIUS speaks of the Carpocratians at the year 120. Basnage at 122. Tillemont (k) thinks, they might appear about the year 130. Dodwell conjectures, that (l) Epiphane died about 140. Irenæus says, that (m) Marcellina came to Rome in the time of Anicetus, which Dodwell (n) computes to have been about the year 142. Massuet (o) about 160. Theodoret expressly placeth (p) Carpocrates and Epiphane in the reign of Adrian. By all ancient writers of heresies in general, the Carpocratians are reckoned an early heresy:

(g) L. 4. c. 22. p. 142, 143. Conf. cap. 7. p. 120.

(b) Vid. H. 32.

(i) Diff. Iren. p. xlvii. xlviii.

(k) Mem. E. T. 2. Les Carpocratians.

(l) Diff. Iren. iv. n. 25, 26.

(m) Unde et Marcellina, quæ Romam

sub Aniceto venit, multos exterminavit. l. 1. c. 25. [al. 24.] p. 104. Gr. 101.

(n) Ib. n. 26.

(o) Diff. Iren. p. lxii.

(p) Ἀδριανὸς δὲ ἐτοί βασιλευντος τὰς πονη-
ρας αἵρεσεις ἐκρατύναν. H. F. L. 1. c. 5.
p. 197. B.

heresy: for they are the 27 in Epiphanius, or the seventh Christian heresy. The order is the same in Augustin, who follows Epiphanius. They are supposed by some, to have been mentioned (*q*) by Celsus. But that is not certain. How long they subsisted, I do not know. But they are continually spoken of by Irenæus, as in being in his time.

SECT. 2.

SECT. III. *Of the Principles of the Carpocratians concerning the Creation.*

THE Carpocratians are often mentioned by Irenæus. (*r*) But there are only two or three passages of his, containing divers particulars relating to them, on which I shall chiefly insist.

SECT. 3.

He there assures us, that (*s*) Carpocrates and his followers say, the world was made by angels, much inferior to the eternal Father. To the like purpose (*t*) Theodoret. And Epiphanius, that (*u*) he held one supreme principle, the Father of all, unknown, and unnamed, or incomprehensible: and that the world, and the things therein, were made by angels, much inferior to the unknown Father. The author of the

Additions

(*q*) Κελσός μὲν οὐκ οἶδε. . . . ἀρποκρατιανὺς ἀπὸ σαδωμῆς. *Orig. c. Cels. l. v. p. 272. Sp. 626. Ben.*

(*r*) Et adversus eos qui sunt a Saturnino, et Basilide, et Carpocrate, et reliquos Gnosticorum, qui eadem similiter dicunt, idem dicatur. *L. 2. c. 31. al. 56. p. 164. Mass. 185. Gr.*

Super hæc arguentur qui sunt a Simone, et Carpocrate, et si qui alii virtutes operari dicuntur. *Ibid. Mass. p. 186. Gr.*

Si itaque et nunc nomen Domini nostri

Jesu Christi beneficia præstat, . . . sed non Simonis, neque Menandri, neque Carpocratis. *Ib. c. 32. al. 57. p. 166. Mass. p. 189. Gr.*

(*s*) Carpocrates autem, et qui ab eo, mundum quidem, et ea quæ in eo sunt, ab angelis multo inferioribus ingenito patre factum esse dicunt. *L. i. c. 25. al. 24. p. 103. Mass. p. 39. Gr.*

(*t*) ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν ἀγγέλων καὶ αὐτὸς κτίσιν ἐφήσε γέγεννησθαι. *p. 196. B.*

(*u*) *H. 27. n. ii. p. 102. C. D.*

SECT. 3. Additions to Tertullian's Book of Prescriptions, does not much differ (*x*) from the authors already quoted.

SECT. IV. *Of their Opinion concerning the Person of Jesus Christ.*

SECT. 4. IRENÆUS immediately proceeds to say, what they thought of the person of Jesus: that (*y*) he was born of Joseph, and was like other men, except that his soul was more firm and pure, and that he remembered what he had seen with the eternal Father: that he was educated among the Jews, and obtained power to surmount his sufferings, and after that ascended to the Father. And that those souls who believed in him should do so likewise; that is, only as to their souls. Epiphanius says, (*z*) their opinion concerning Christ was, that he was born of Joseph and Mary; but excelled other men in temperance, and the holiness and virtue of his life. He also speaks of their supposing the mind of Christ to have had a wonderful strength, or firmness, and to have remembered what he saw in his pre-existent state, and the like. Theodoret's

(*x*) Carpocrates præterea hanc tulit sectam. Unam esse dicit virtutem in superioribus principalem: ex hac prolatis angelos, atque virtutes: quos distantes longe a superioribus virtutibus mundum istum in inferioribus partibus condidisse. *De Pr. c.* 48. p. 252. *A.* 216. 7. *Fran.*

(*y*) Jesum autem e Joseph natum, et cum similis reliquis hominibus fuerit, distasse a reliquis secundum id, quod anima ejus firma et munda cum esset, commemorata fuerit quæ visa essent sibi in ea circumlatione, quæ fuisset ingenito Deo: et propter hoc ab eo missam esse ei virtutem, uti mundi fabricatores effugere posset, et . . . af-

cenderet ad eum: et eas, qui similia ei amplecterentur, similiter. Jesu autem dicunt animam in Judæorum consuetudine nutritam contempsisse eos, et propter hoc virtutes accepisse, per quas evacuavit quæ fuerunt in pœnis passionibus, quæ inerant hominibus. *Ibid. p.* 203.

(*z*) Ἰησοῦν δὲ τὸν κυρίον ἡμῶν ἀπὸ ἰωσήφ λέγει γεγενῆσθαι, καθάπερ καὶ πάντες ἀνθρώποι, ἐκ σπέρματος ἀνδρός καὶ γυναικός, . . . βίῳ δὲ διετηνεχέναι, σωφροσύνη τε καὶ ἀρετὴ καὶ βίῳ δικαιοσύνης. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ, φησὶν, εὐτόνον ἔχε ψυχὴν παρὰ τῆς ἀλλῆς ἀνθρώπου, κ. λ. *H.* 27. n. ii. p. 102, *D.*

doret's account likewise is, that (*a*) they believed Jesus to have been a man, born of Joseph and Mary, like other men: but that he excelled in virtue, and having a pure soul, he remembered his conversation with the eternal being. With these accounts agree (*b*) Philaster, and the (*c*) author of the Additions to Tertullian, whom I transcribe largely at the bottom of the page.

SECT. V. *They are accused of saying, that some may excel Jesus.*

MOREOVER, as Irenæus proceeds, (*d*) some of them SECT. 5. have the vanity to think, that they may equal, or in some respect exceed, Jesus himself, or at least Peter and Paul, and the other apostles, and that if any one did more completely despise all things here below, than he did, he might be better than he. So also says Epiphanius, that (*e*) some of

S

them

(*a*) ἀρετὴ δὲ αὐτῶν ἵστανται, καὶ καθαράν ἰσχυρότα ψυχὴν, καὶ μεμνημένην τῆς μετὰ τὴν ἀγνῆτην διαγωγῆς. *p.* 196. *B.*

(*b*) Christum autem dicit non de Virgine Maria, et divino spiritu natum, sed de femine Joseph hominem natum arbitrat. . . . Qui post passionem, inquit, melior inter Judæos vita integra, et conversatione inventus est, cujus animam in cœlum susceptam prædicat. Carnem vero in terram dimissam æstimat. Animique salutem solum, carnis autem non fieri salutem opinatur. *Har.* 35. *al.* 7. *post Christum.*

(*c*) Christum non ex Virgine Maria natum, sed ex femine Joseph, hominem tantummodo genitum: fane præ ceteris justitiæ cultu, vitæ integritate meliorem: hunc apud Judæos passum: solam animam ipsius in cœlo receptam, eo quod et firmior et robustior ceteris fuerit. Exquo collige-

ret, tentata animarum sola salute, nullas corporis resurrectiones. *Pr.* c. 48. *p.* 252. *B.* 216. 20.

(*d*) Quapropter et ad tantum elationis provecti sunt, ut quidam quidem similes sese dicant Jesu: quidam autem adhuc et secundum aliquid illo fortiores, qui sunt distantes amplius quam illius discipuli, ut puta quam Petrus et Paulus, et reliqui apostoli. . . . Siquis autem plus quam ille contemserit ea quæ sunt hic, posse meliorem quam illum esse. *Ibid.* *Gr.* 100.

(*e*) Εαυτὸς προκρινεὶς ἡγνῆται καὶ αὐτὴ τὴν ἰσὺν. Ἄλλοι δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν, οὐκ ἰσὺν φασιν, ἀλλὰ πῖτριν καὶ ἀνδρείαν καὶ παύλην καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀποστόλων ἑαυτοὺς ὑπερφερεσθῆναι διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς γνώσεως, καὶ τὸ περισσότερον τῆς διαπραξίως διαφορῶν διέχοντων. *H.* 27. *ii.* *p.* 103. *D.*

SECT. 5. them thought, they might excel Jesus. Others, who went not so far, yet supposed they might excel Peter, Andrew, Paul, and the other apostles. Theodoret, in like manner, says, that (*f*) if any man had a purer soul than that of Jesus, he might excel the Son himself. Tertullian (*g*) too speaks of this notion of theirs: though, perhaps, after all, it is only a consequence drawn by some from their opinion concerning Christ, that he was a mere man. At least, there may be reason to apprehend, that their notion is not expressed to advantage. At the utmost, it seems not to be a positive assertion, but a case put: supposing a man to have a very pure soul, and that he despise this world and the things of it, and be steadily virtuous in very trying circumstances, he might equal, and in some respect excel, Christ and his apostles. And that it is only made for argument sake, is evident from hence, because they thought, Jesus much excelled all men in capacity and firmness of mind, and holiness of life: though others may resemble him, as all good christians will allow.

(*f*) Εἰ δὲ καὶ καθαρῶτερον τις σχοιῇ ψυχὴν, ὑπερῆσεται, φησί, καὶ τὸ υἱὸς τῆς ἀξίας.
p. 196. B.

(*g*) Sed et Carpocrates tantundem sibi de superioribus vindicat, ut discipuli ejus animas suas jam et Christo, nedum aposto-

lis, et peræquent, et cum volunt, præferant: quas perinde de sublimi virtute conceperint, despectrice mundi potentium principatuum. *De Anim. c. 23. p. 325. B. p. 275. 5.*

SECT. VI. *And are said to have used magical Arts.*

IRENÆUS next (*b*) says, and Eusebius (*i*) as from him, SECT. 6.
that they were magicians, and put in practice all the methods of such people. Epiphanius (*k*) and (*l*) Theodoret join in this charge: which I shall not now concern myself about, having in other places said what is sufficient.

SECT. VII. *Of marking their Disciples and incensing the Pictures of Christ and others.*

IRENÆUS says farther, that (*m*) they mark their disciples SECT. 7.
on the back part of one of their ears: then, that Marcel-
lina came to Rome in the time of Anicetus, bishop of that
city. He moreover says, that they call themselves Gnostics,
and that they have pictures and images of Christ and his apo-
stles, and also of Pythagoras, Plato, and Aristotle, and other
eminent persons; and that they crown them, and honour
them with rites of the Gentile superstition. Epiphanius too
says, that they have pictures of Jesus, and Paul, and also of

S 2

Homer,

(*b*) Artes enim magicas operantur et ipsi, et incantationes, philtrea quoque, &c. *Ib.* p. 103. Gr. 100.

(*i*) L. 4. c. 7. p. 120. B. C.

(*k*) *Epiph. ubi supra.* n. iii. p. 104. A.

(*l*) P. 196. C.

(*m*) Alii vero ex ipsis signant, cauteri-
antes suos discipulos in posterioribus parti-
bus extantiae dextrae auris. Unde et Mar-
cellina, quæ Romam sub Aniceto venit,
cum esset hujus doctrinæ, multos exterminavit. Gnosticos se autem vocant. Et

imagines quasdam quidem depictas, quas-
dam autem et de reliqua materia fabrica-
tos habent, dicentes formam Christi factam
a Pilato, illo in tempore quo fuit Jesus
cum hominibus. Et has coronant, et pre-
ponunt eas cum imaginibus mundi philo-
sophorum. . . Pythagoræ, et Platonis, et
Aristotelis, et reliquorum. Et reliquam
observationem circa eas, similiter ut gen-
tes, faciunt. *Ibid.* p. 104, 105. Gr. 101,
102.

SECT. 7. Homer, Pythagoras, and other philosophers: and that they honor them with incense and worship. But then, it is observable that both in his (*n*) summary, and his larger work, he (*o*) says, it was in private that they had or honoured these images or pictures, and in private only. Perhaps therefore this story is not true: or however, not the whole of it. If they had pictures of the philosophers, as well as of Jesus, it is likely a superior regard was paid to him: and as for what is said of incensing them, and other superstitious rites, it may be all mere fiction.

SECT. VIII. *A general View of what they believed.*

SECT. 8. FROM all which we now perceive, that the Carpocratians believed one God, eternal and incomprehensible, who made angels and powers of different orders. By some of these was made this lower and visible world. They said, that Jesus was the son of Joseph and Mary: in whom was a most pure soul, of great capacity and understanding, who retained the remembrance of the things which he had seen with the Father, which (*p*) also he here revealed to men: that he wrought miracles, and excelled in the holiness of his life, and all virtue: that he lived among the Jews, and suffered death: after which his soul ascended to heaven, and returned to God. We perceive likewise, that they believed the pre-existence of human souls: that they expected the salvation of the soul only, and not the resurrection of the body.

I now

(*n*) Εἰκονας δὲ ποιήσας ἐν κρυφῇ ἰησοῦ, καὶ παύλῳ, καὶ ὁμηροῦ, . . . ταύταις εὐθυμία καὶ προσεκινεῖ. P. 53.

(*o*) Κριθεὶς δὲ τὰς τοιαύτας εἶχεν εἰκονας.

κ. λ. H. 27. n. 6. p. 108.

(*p*) Ἐλεγε δὲ τὸν ἰησοῦν ψοχὴν νοεραν εἰληφέναι· εἰδοτὰ δὲ τὰ ἀνω ἐνταῦθα καταγγέλλειν. Id. ib. p. 53.

I now proceed to observe the accounts of their moral principles and manners.

SECT. IX. *They are accused of asserting there is no Difference in the Nature of Things.*

IRENÆUS says, (q) they lived a voluptuous and luxurious life, and justified it by their principles. For they said, that there is no difference in things: that they are not good or evil in themselves, but only according to the judgment and opinion of men. He adds, that (r) such things are done by them, as I should not believe, if it were not made evident from their writings. For they affirm, that Christ told his disciples privately, that nothing is necessary to salvation but faith and love; and that all other things are indifferent, being good or evil only in the judgment or opinion of men, not in their own nature. SECT. 9.

In another place Irenæus, speaking of some heretics, and particularly the Carpocratians, and having recited our Lord's excellent precepts of sublime virtue, goes on: Since (s) then he

(q) Sed vitam quidem luxuriosam, sententiam autem impiam ad velamen malitiæ ipforum nomine abutuntur. . . Et in tantam insaniam effræmati sunt, uti et omnia quæcumque sunt irreligiosa et impia in potestate habere, et operari se dicant. Sola enim humana opinione negotia mala et bona dicant. *Ib. p. 103, 104. Gr. 100.*

(r) Καὶ εἰ μὲν πρᾶσσεται παρ' αὐτοῖς τὰ αἰθερά, καὶ ἐκθεσμία, καὶ ἀπειρημένα, ἐγὼ οὐκ ἀντιτεύσομαι. Ἐν δὲ τοῖς συγγραμμέσιν οὕτως ἀναγεγραπτά, καὶ αὐτοὶ οὕτως ἐξηγῶνται, τὸν ἰησοῦν λέγοντες ἐκ μυστηρίου τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀποστόλοις κατ' ἰδίαν λελαληκέναι, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀξίωσαι τοῖς ἀξίοις καὶ τοῖς πειθομένοις τὰυτὰ παραδίδουσι. Διὰ πίστεως γὰρ καὶ ἀγάπης σωζέσ-

θαι· τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἀδιαφορεῖν οὐτά, κατὰ τὴν δοξάν των ἀνθρώπων, πῇ μὲν ἀγαθὰ, πῇ δὲ κακὰ νομίζεσθαι, ἡδυνός φύσει κακὴν ὑπαρχόντος. *Ib. p. 104. Gr. 101.*

(s) Quando igitur ille, quem isti magistrum gloriantur, et eum multo meliorem et fortiolem reliquis animam habuisse dicunt, cum magna diligentia quædam quidem jussit fieri quasi bona et egregia, quibusdam autem abstinere non solum operibus, sed etiam his cogitationibus, . . . quasi malis et nocivis, et nequam: quemadmodum magistrum talem fortiolem et meliorem reliquis, deinde quæ sunt contraria ejus doctrinæ manifeste præcipientes, non confundantur? Et si quidem nihil esset mali, aut

SECT. 9. he whom they glory in as their master, and say, that he had a much better and firmer mind than other men, with great earnestness required the doing of some things as good and excellent, and the forbearing other things as hurtful and wicked: I say, when they allow that their master was better and greater than other men, how can they teach things manifestly contrary to his doctrine, and not be ashamed! How can they say, there is nothing good or evil, righteous or unrighteous, but in the opinion of men; when he said in his doctrine, *Then (t) shall the righteous shine forth as the sun in the kingdom of their Father*; and that he shall bid the unrighteous, and those who do not works of righteousness, *to (u) depart into everlasting fire, (x) where their worm dies not, and the fire will not be quenched.*

SECT. X. *And of practising the grossest impurity in their Assemblies.*

SECT. 10. CLEMENT of Alexandria, at the beginning of this article, said, that Carpocrates and Epiphanes maintained the community of women. And having quoted a passage out of the book of righteousness there mentioned, he adds: of (y) these, and others of like sentiments, it is said, that they have

rursus boni, opinione autem sola humana, quædam quidem injusta, quædam autem justa putarentur, non utique dixisset dogmatizans: justii autem fulgebunt sicut sol in regno Patris eorum: injustos autem, et qui non faciunt opera justitiæ, mittet in ignem æternum, ubi vermis ipforum non morietur, et ignis non exstinguetur. L. 2. c. 32. al. 56. p. 165. Mass. p. 187. Gr. (t) Matt. xiii. 43.

(u) Matt. xxv. 41.

(x) Mark ix. 44. 46, 48.

(y) τῶτες φασὶ καὶ τινὰς ἄλλας ζήλωτας τῶν ὁμοίων κακῶν εἰς τὰ δειπνὰ ἀθροίζομενους ἀνδρας οὐκ καὶ γυναίκας μετὰ δὴ τὸ κορεσθῆναι ἐν πλησμῶνι τῆ κυπρίου φασὶ, τὸ καταισχυνοῦν αὐτῶν τὴν πορνικὴν ταύτην δικαιοσύνην, ἐκ ποδῶν ποιησαμένους φῶς τῇ τῆ λυχνὸς περιστροφῇ, μιγνύνθαι ὥστε ἐθελοῖεν, αἱς θυλοῖντο. κ. λ. Sir. 3. P. 430. D.

have a supper, (for I cannot call it a love-feast) where men and women meet, and having eat plentifully, the candles are put out, and they mix together promiscuously.

Tertullian at once calls (x) Carpocrates magician and fornicator.

What Eusebius says of the Carpocratians was observed long ago.

Epiphanius takes a part, of what Irenæus says, of their living a voluptuous course of life, and adds, that (a) they practise unnatural uncleanness in the most shameful manner, as well as magic.

Theodoret says, that (b) impurity was a law with them, so far were they from concealing it.

I proceed no farther in these quotations, supposing, that here may be sufficient to give my readers light into this matter. One thing I have omitted, for the sake of brevity, which may be seen by the curious in Irenæus and Epiphanius, relating to the Carpocratian doctrine of transmutations, and the design of them, as they are represented by those writers.

(x) Inde etiam Carpocrates utitur, pariter magus, pariter fornicarius. *De Anim.* c. 35. p. 338. B.

(a) τι δε αλλο τι πασαν αρεστηγειαν και αθεμιτον πραξιν, ην υ θεμιτον επι σωματος φερειν υτοι πραττεσι; και παν ειδος ανδροδασιων,

και λαγνετερων ομιλιων προς γυναικας, εν εκασωμλει σωματος. *H.* 27. π. iv. p. 105. B.

(b) την δε ασελγειαν συγκαλυπτειν ηκ ανεχομενοι, αλλα νομον την ακολασιαν ποιουμενοι. p. 196. C.

SECT. XI. *The utter improbability of these Accusations shown from a variety of Considerations.*

SECT. II. **N**OW after all this, what can be said? The Carpocratians are in so much discredit, that it must be hazardous to say any thing tending to mitigate the censures that have been passed upon them.

Nevertheless I believe there are persons in the world, of so much candour, as to be willing to hear what may be offered.

1. I presume, then, that what was formerly said, for shewing, that the heretics were not the occasion of the calumnies cast upon the primitive Christians, must abate the persuasion of the certain truth of the things charged upon the Carpocratians.

2. I have not observed any blot in the personal characters of Carpocrates or Epiphanes. Carpocrates was a very learned man, who had a wife and one son. Him he educated himself. And he proved a wonderful person for learning.

3. Whereas we are told, that they said, there was no difference in things; there are considerations, which may satisfy us, this is not a true account. For it is inconsistent with their opinion concerning Christ, who, as they said, excelled in virtue and holiness of life, and had a much better, and firmer mind, than any other man. And some of them said, that supposing any man to have a purer soul, and to despise the world more than he did, he might exceed him. Which shews that they set a high value upon virtue. Moreover according to Irenæus, they said, Christ had taught, that nothing is necessary to salvation, but faith, love, or charity. These therefore were necessary. Consequently, they did not say, that all things were indifferent, or alike, neither good nor evil

evil in their nature. It is plain, I think, that the passage, alledged by Irenæus, does not prove what he brings it for. And in *faith* and *love*, they seem to have comprehended every branch of moral righteousness. When they added, that Christ said, all other things were indifferent, it is likely they meant particularly the positive rites of the law of Moses; which were neither good nor evil in themselves previous to the divine appointment: and the abrogation of which Christ did not speak of so *clearly* and *publicly*, as of other things, that were necessary, about which therefore the primitive christians formed very different notions.

4. Clement and others say, that Carpocrates and Epiphanes taught the community of women. And as a proof, he quotes a passage of Epiphanes. But, possibly, Clement mistook him. There is some reason to think, he did. For the passage is obscure. And presently afterwards Clement observes, that Plato is thought by some to teach the same doctrine. But they who are of that opinion, he says, mistake him. He only says, that (*c*) women are common before marriage, so that men may make choice out of them, and seek whom of them they please in marriage. If this sense may be put upon Plato's words, why may not some such solution acquit Epiphanes? That some passages of the ancient heretics were obscure, and liable to be misunderstood, may appear from a passage of Isidore, cited by Epiphanius, (*d*) which according to his interpretation contains execrable looseness of principle, teaching men to commit lewdness, and then to say, they have received no damage from it. Whereas it is a very honest passage, containing first, a recommendation of marriage, and then chastity in a

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single

(*c*) Δοκεῖ δὲ μοι καὶ τὸ πλατωνὸς παρακκηκοῖναι ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ, φάμεν κοινὰς εἶναι τὰς γυναῖκας πάντων κοινὰς μὲν τὰς πρὸ τῆ γάμῃ τῶν αὐτῶν

μελλόντων, καθάπερ καὶ τὸ θεατρὸν κοινὸν τῶν θεωμένων, φασκόντος. *Str.* 3. p. 430. *D.*

(*d*) *H.* 32. n. iv. p. 24. 212.

SECT. II. single life, with directions for obtaining it, if a man has not a good opportunity of marrying. Clement (*e*) quoted the same passage, as containing sound and useful instructions. And Grabe (*f*) approves of it, and has given a fine explication of it. That passage is taken out of a book of Isidore, called his morals. This passage and another, quoted by (*g*) Clement, from another book of Isidore, are both brought by Epiphanius to prove, that Carpocrates and Epiphanius held the community of women. As they are not at all to the purpose, all evidence of what he would prove, fails him. Epiphanius supposed, and in another place (*h*) expressly says, that Epiphanius made use of Isidore's morals in support of his sentiments. Whether that be true, or not, it is certain, that the passages alledged by him, for shewing that the Carpocratians taught the community of women, contain no such doctrine.

5. Irenæus said, he should not have believed the truth of the things reported of them, if their writings did not shew it. Therefore he had no evidence of those facts from credible witnesses. And that the passage of their writings, quoted by him, does not prove what he brings it for, I suppose to have been shewn to satisfaction.

6. Nor had Clement of Alexandria any good assurance of their practising lewdness in their assemblies. He only mentions the thing as report: *it is said*, or *they say* so of them.

Upon the whole, it seems to me, that the immoral principles and immoral practices laid to their charge are not proved. The supposition therefore, probably, is owing to mistake or prejudice, or in part to both. There might be loose and wicked

(*e*) Str. L. 3. p. 427.

(*f*) *Ista et emendatione et explicatione egent, qua allata patebit haec verba bonum habere sensum. Spic. T. 2. p. 66.*

(*g*) Str. L. 3. p. 426.

(*h*) *Vid. H. 33. n. i. Conf. H. 32. n. iii. Et. vid. Gr. Spic. T. 2. p. 64. et Mass. Diff. Iren. p. xlvi.*

wicked men among the Carpocratians, as there were in other sects. But that they were countenanced by Carpocrates and Epiphanes, or by the principles they taught, does not appear to be probable. SECT. 11.

SECT. XII. *What Scriptures they received.*

THE article of their testimony to the scriptures will be short. Epiphanius in his summary says, they (*i*) rejected the Old Testament. Perhaps they did. But I do not know that to be certain. Possibly however, the fact was only that this, they did not respect the instructions of Moses and the Prophets, equally with those of Christ and his Apostles. SECT. 12.

Tillemont says, they (*k*) received the gospel of St. Matthew, and refers to Epiphanius, who says, that (*l*) Cerinthus and Carpocrates endeavoured to prove from the beginning of that gospel, that Jesus was born of Joseph and Mary. Irenæus says, they (*m*) endeavoured to pervert those words of our Lord, which are in Matt. v. 25. 26. Luke xii. 58. But I apprehend, that they received not that gospel only, but the other gospels likewise, and all the other books of the New Testament, as they were received by other christians in their time. For Irenæus says, they gloried in Christ, as their master. They believed that he came from God, or that having taught the will of God on earth, and died, he ascended to heaven. They appear from passages before quoted, to have respected Peter and Paul, and all the Apostles of Jesus. It is likely therefore, that they received their writings. It is manifest from

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Irenæus's

(*i*) ΤΟΥ ΤΕ ΝΟΜΟΥ ΟΥΔΕ ΤΗ ΤΩΝ ΝΕΚΡΩΝ ΑΝΕΣΤΑΣΙ
ΑΠΗΛΥΘΗΣΕΝ. p. 53.

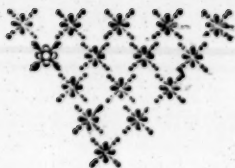
(*k*) Mem. Ecc. T. 2. Les Carpocratians.

(*l*) H. 32. c. 14. p. 138. D.

(*m*) L. i. c. 25. al. 24. p. 104. Gr.

SECT. 12. Irenæus's arguments with them, as above taken notice of, that they did not designedly contradict Christ's doctrine, but greatly respected it. And he largely sets (*n*) before them our Lord's excellent precepts, as recorded in the gospels. His collections may indeed be reckoned to be chiefly taken from what is called our Saviour's sermon on the mount, recorded by St. Matthew. But he does not drop any intimation of his being restrained to any one part of the New Testament, as particularly received by them, whilst they rejected the rest.

(*n*) *Vid. L. 2, c. 32. al. 56, p. 165. Gr. 187. And See p. 133, 134, of this chap.*



CHAP. IV.

Of CERINTHUS.

SECT. I. *Antient Authors who speak of Cerinthus.*

THE time of Cerinthus being uncertain, I shall immediately transcribe the passages of divers authors concerning him, beginning with Irenæus, for the sake of his antiquity. SECT. I.

And (a) Cerinthus in Asia taught, that the world was not made by the supreme god, but by a certain power, separate from him, much below him, and ignorant of him. Jesus he supposed not to be born of a virgin, which to him appeared impossible, but to be the son of Joseph and Mary, born altogether as other men are; but he excelled all men in virtue, knowledge and wisdom. At his baptism the Christ came down upon him from him who is over all, in the shape of a dove. And then he declared to the world the unknown Father, and wrought miracles. At the end the Christ left Jesus. And Jesus suffered and rose again. But the Christ being spiritual was impassible.

Again,

(a) Et Cerinthus autem quidam in Asia, non a primo deo factum esse mundum docuit, sed a virtute quadam valde separata et distante ab ea principalitate, quæ est super universa, et ignorante eum qui est super omnia deum. Jesum autem subjecit, non ex virgine natum; (impossibile enim hoc ei visum est.) fuisse autem eum Josephi et Mariæ filium, similiter ut reliqui omnes homines, et plus potuisse justitia, pruden-

tia, et sapientia, ab hominibus. Et post baptismum descendisse in eum ab ea principalitate quæ est super omnia Christum figura columbæ, et tunc annuntiasse incognitum patrem, et virtutes perfecisse: in fine autem revolasse iterum Christum de Jesu, et Jesum passum esse, et resurrexisse: Christum autem impassibilem perseverasse, existentem spiritalem. *l. i. c. 26. al. 25. p. 105. Gr. 102.*

HISTORY OF HERETICS:

Again, he says: And (*b*) there are some who have heard Polycarp say, that John the disciple of the Lord, going to bathe at Ephesus, and seeing Cerinthus already in the bath, came out again in haste, saying to those who were with him: let us flee hence, lest the bath should fall, while Cerinthus the enemy of truth is within. This story I have examined in another (*c*) place. And shall now add nothing to what was then said, except it be, that (*d*) Basnage, (*e*) Maffuet, and some others, as it seems to me, do not represent it rightly. For they suppose Irenæus to say, that he himself had received that account from Polycarp: whereas I think, Irenæus says no more than this, that there were some who had heard it from Polycarp.

In another place Irenæus says: they (*f*) who separate Jesus from the Christ, and say that the Christ was always impassible, whilst Jesus suffered, preferring the gospel according to Mark, may be confuted by it, if they have a love of truth. Grabe (*g*) thinks this to be said of the Cerinthians. Maffuet disputes this. But perhaps his arguments are of no great moment. However, it is not easy to conceive any reason why these persons should prefer Mark, before the other evangelists. And moreover it is generally allowed, that they received St. Matthew's, if not the other gospels also. Nevertheless Mr. Lampe (*h*) is entirely of the same opinion with Grabe.

Once

(*b*) L. 3. c. 3. p. 177. Gr. 204.

(*c*) Vol. i. p. 190, 191. 2d. edit.

(*d*) Ann. An. 101. Vol. 2. p. 6. No. 11.

(*e*) *Dissert. Iren.* p. lxiv. n. vi. de Cerintho.

(*f*) Qui autem Jesum separant a Christo, et impassibilem perseverasse Christum, passum vero Jesum dicunt, id quod secundum Marcum est præferentes Evangelium, cum amore veritatis legentes illud corrigi possunt.

L. 3. c. xi. p. 190. Maff. Gr. 220, 12.

(*g*) Cerinthum ejusque sequaces indicat: adeo ut hos Marci evangelium recepisse constet. Gr. ad loc. p. 220.

(*h*) Cerinthianos procul dubio intelligit, quando ait. Qui autem Jesum separant a Christo. Unde saltem patet, quod Marci quoque Evangelio locum fecerint. Lampe *Prol. in Jehan.* p. 135.

Once more, that learned and pious antient says, that (i) John the disciple of the Lord, wrote his gospel, to confute the doctrine lately taught by Cerinthus, and a great while before by those called Nicolaitans, a branch of the Gnostics, and to shew, that there is one God who made all things by his word: and not, as they say, that there is one, the Creator, and another the Father of our Lord: and one the Son of the Creator, and another, even the Christ, who descended from above upon the Son of the Creator, and continued impassible, and at length returned to his pleroma or fullness. St. Jerom (k) has somewhat to the like purpose concerning the occasion of St. John's writing his gospel.

Let us now take Epiphanius's account. His summary is to this purpose: the (l) Cerinthians, called also Merinthians, are Jews, (or of Jewish extract) valuing themselves upon circumcision. They say, that the world was made by angels, and that Jesus by encrease of virtue came to be Christ.

In his larger work he says, that (m) like the Carpocratians they say Jesus was born of Joseph and Mary, and that the world was made by angels. Indeed they differ little or nothing from them except that they (n) are for observing the Jewish rites, in part at least. They say, that the law and the prophets proceeded

(i) Hanc fidem annuntians Joannes domini discipulus, volens per evangelii enuntiationem auferre eum qui a Cerintho infeminatus erat hominibus errorem, et multo prius ab his qui dicuntur Nicolaitæ, qui sunt vulgio ejus quæ falso cognominatur scientia; ut confunderet eos, et suaderet, quoniam unus deus, qui omnia fecit per verbum suum, et non quemadmodum illi dicunt, alterum quidem fabricatorem, alium autem patrem domini, et alium quidem fabricatoris filium, alterum vero de superioribus Christum, quem et impassibilem perfe-

verasse, descendentem in Jesum filium fabricatoris, et iterum revolasse in suum pleroma. L. i. c. xi. p. 188. *Maff.* p. 218. *Gr.*

(k) Novissimus omnium scripsit evangelium—Adversus Cerinthum, aliosque hæreticos, et maxime tunc Elionitarum dogma confurgens, qui asserunt Christum ante Mariam non fuisse, &c. *De V. I. c. ix.*

(l) Ἰουδαῖοι τινες τὴν περιτομὴν αὐχρῶντες. Ἰησοῦν δὲ κατὰ προκοπὴν χεῖρον κληθεῖσθαι. p. 53.

(m) *H.* 28. p. 110, *Ec.*

(n) ἐν τῷ προσέχειν τῷ Ἰουδαϊσμῷ ἀπὸ μερὸς. *H. C.*

SECT. I. proceeded from angels, and that he who gave the law was one of the angels that made the world. This Cerinthus lived in Asia, and there first published his doctrine. He said, (o) that when Jesus was grown up, the Christ, that is the Holy Spirit, came down upon him at Jordan, in the shape of a dove from the supreme Deity: and revealed to him, and by him to others, the unknown Father. Whereupon when that power had come down upon him from above, he wrought great miracles. He likewise said, that Jesus suffered, and rose again, but the Christ that came down upon him from above was always impassible: and that when Jesus suffer'd, the Christ left him. This same man is one of those, who in the time of the apostles caused a (p) disturbance; when James (q) and they that were with him sent letters to the disciples at Antioch, saying: *Forasmuch as we have heard, that certain which went out from us have troubled you with words.* And he was also one of those who contended with Peter, when he was returned to Jerusalem, after he had been at the house of Cornelius by the direction of the Holy Ghost, saying, (r) *thou wentest into men uncircumcised, and didst eat with them.* But this (s) was before he preached his doctrine in Asia. This same (t) false apostle Cerinthus was also with those who made a sedition at Jerusalem, when Paul came thither with Titus, saying, (u) *that he*
had

(o) ανωθεν δε εκ της ανωθεν μετα το αδρυνησαι τον ιησουν. κατεληλυθεναι τον χριστον εις αυτον, τωτ' εστι το πνευμα αγιον εν ειδει περιγερας εν τω ιορδανη, και αποκαλυψαι αυτω, και δι' αυτη τοις μετ' αυτη τον αγνωτον πατερα, και δια τωτο, επειδη ηλθεν η δυναμις εις αυτον ανωθεν, δυναμεις επιτετελεσκειναι. πεποιθοτα δε τον ιησουν, και παλιν εγγηγεμενον, χριστον δε του ανωθεν ελθοντα εις αυτον απαθη αναπταντα. *Ib.* p. 110. D.
III. A.

(p) P. III. B. C.

(q) *Acts* xv. 24.

(r) *Acts* xi. 22, 33

(s) Εποίησε δε τωτο κηρυθος, πριν η εν τη ασια, κηρυξαι το αυτη κηρυγμα, και εμπεσειν εις το περισσοτερον της εαυτη απωλειας βαρβαρον.
P. III. C.

(t) *Ib.* n. iv. p. 112. C. D.

(u) *Acts* xxi. 28.

had brought uncircumcised men into the temple, and had defiled that holy place. Epiphanius adds: they (x) use the gospel of Matthew, though not entire; but they prefer this, on account of the genealogy which relates properly to his flesh. They also endeavour to bring proofs from this gospel, in favour of circumcision, arguing from another part, (y) *It is enough for the disciple, that he be as his master.* Christ was circumcised, and kept the law. And why should not you likewise. As for Paul, (z) they quite reject him, because he was against circumcision, and says: *they (a) who are justified by the law, are fallen from grace: and, if ye are circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing.* He afterwards says, that (b) the same people are also called Merinthians; but he does not know whether Cerinthus was also called Merinthus: or whether there was another called Merinthus, who was join'd with him. But as we have already said, he often (c) opposed the apostles not only at Jerusalem, but in Asia also, both he and his adherents.

This is Epiphanius's account. Who, as we see, makes additions to Irenæus, saying, that he opposed the apostles in Judea, and out of it, early and late.

Let us now see what Theodoret says. About the same time (he had before mentioned the Ebionites and Nazarenes) Cerin-

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thus

(x) *χρῶνται γὰρ τὸ κατὰ ματθαῖον εὐαγγέλιον ἀπο μέρους, καὶ ἄχι ὅλη, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν γενεαλογίαν τὴν ἐν σαρκί.* n. v. p. 113. B. C. This passage has generally been understood as asserting, that the Cerinthians did not receive the entire gospel of Matthew, on account of the genealogy, which they rejected. Whereas the true meaning of the passage is, that they preferred this gospel to the others, because of the genealogy. From whence they thought they could prove Christ to be really a mere man, born of Joseph and Mary. The other words, *in part* and *not entire* come in by way of

parenthesis. This, which is the genuine sense of the words, reconciles what is here said, with what is said of them by Epiphanius, under the article Ebionites; quoted page 155, note (g) H.

(y) *Matt. x. 25.*

(z) *Τὸν δὲ παῦλον ἀθετοῦσι διὰ τὸ μὴ πειθεσθαι τῇ περιτομῇ.* Ib. n. v. p. 113. C.

(a) *Gal. v. 2, 4.*

(b) *Ibid. n. 8. p. 115. D.*

(c) *Ὅτι ὁ μόνον αὐτὸς ἐν ἱεροσολύμοις πολλακις ἀντίστη τοῖς ἀποστόλοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ ἐν ἀσίᾳ.* N. 8. p. 116.

SECT. I.

thus was the author of another heresy or sect. Having been a long while in Egypt, and studied philosophical learning; at length he came into Asia, and gathered disciples, which he called after his own name. He taught, that there is one (*d*) God over all. Nevertheless he did not make the world, but some other powers separate from him, and ignorant of him. He said, as the Jews generally do, that Jesus was born of Joseph and Mary, but that he excelled other men in wisdom, temperance, righteousness, and all virtues: that the Christ descended upon him from above in the shape of a dove, and then he preached the unknown God, and performed the miracles which are recorded of him: that at the time of his passion the Christ withdrew from him, and that Jesus only suffered. He forged some revelations as seen by himself, adding certain woes and threatenings. He said, that the kingdom of our Lord is terrestrial, or that he would reign on this earth. For he dreamed of eating and drinking, and marriage, and sacrifices, and festivals to be accomplished at Jerusalem, and to last for a thousand years. For so long he thought the kingdom of the Lord would endure. Against him wrote not only the forementioned authors, but Caius also, and Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria. And it is said, that the divine evangelist John, going to bathe, and seeing Cerinthus, said: let us flee hence, lest the bath should fall upon Cerinthus, and we share in the same ruin.

(*d*) ένα μὲν εἶναι τὸν τῶν ὅλων θεόν. τὸν ἰησοῦν δὲ, τοῖς ἑβραίοις παραπλησίως, εἶπεν κατὰ φύσιν ἐξ ἀνδρὸς γεννηθῆναι καὶ γυναῖκος τῇ ἰωσήφ καὶ τῇ μαρίᾳ, σωφροσύνην δὲ, καὶ δικαιοσύνην, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀγαθοῖς διαπεφυῖναι. Τὸν δὲ χρίστον ἐν εἰδὲι περιστερᾶς ἀναθεῖν ἐπ' αὐτὸν κατελθεῖν, καὶ τῇ κατὰ τὸν ἀγνοούμενον κηρυξάει θεόν, καὶ

τὰς ἀναγκαῖας ἐπιτελεῖσαι θαυματουργίας. Κατὰ δὲ τοῦ τοῦ παθὸς καιροῦ ἀποστῆναι μὲν τὸν χρίστον, τὸ δὲ παθὸς ὑπομείναι τὸν ἰησοῦν. Οὗτος ἀποκαλύπτεις τινὰς ὡς αὐτὸς τεθεισμένος ἐπλάσαστο, καὶ ἀπειλῶν τινῶν διδασκαλίας συνέθηκε, καὶ τῇ κυρίᾳ τῇ βασιλείᾳ ἐφῆσεν ἐπιγίγειν εἰσελθαι. *H. T. l. 2. c. 2. p. 219.*

SECT.

SECT. II. *Observations relative to the Time of Cerinthus.*

I Now proceed to make remarks. Other authors have spoken SECT. 2.
of Cerinthus. But I hope to bring in their accounts under the following observations.

One thing is very observable, that these three learned writers vary very much. Epiphanius and Theodoret say divers things of Cerinthus, which Irenæus, the most antient, takes no notice of. That I may omit no particular of moment, I shall consider the time, and history of Cerinthus, then his sentiments, next his manners, and lastly the scriptures received by him.

Baronius speaks of Cerinthus at several years of the first century, not very long after our Saviour's ascension. Le Clerc at the year 80. Basnage at the year 101, in their several ecclesiastical histories. By some he is esteemed a heretic of the first, by others of the (e) second century. It is reckoned to be observable, that Epiphanius placeth the Cerinthians after the Carpocratians. And Irenæus intimates, that the doctrine of the Cerinthians had been long before taught by the Nicolaitans. Theodoret in a place not yet quoted, says, it (f) was reported, that Cerinthus sowed the seeds of his principles, whilst the excellent evangelist John was still living. Which implies, that Cerinthus did not arise in the early days of the apostles: but only some short time before the death of St.

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John,

(e) Non disputo nunc de Cerinthi ætate, quæ saltem quoad erroris propagationem Joanne recentior videtur, uti infra indicabitur. *Lamp. Proleg. p. 69. in.*

Cerinthus veto seculo demum secundo, et quidem non ante Hadrianum, vel Anto-

ninum Pium emeruisse, vix dubitamus. *Id. ib. p. 182. Vid. et p. 184, 186.*

(f) Καὶ κηρυχθὲν δὲ φασιν, ἰωάννη τῷ πάντῳ φημὶ τὸ θεῖον συγγραψάντος εὐαγγέλιον ἐπὶ πλείοντος, τὰ τῆς οἰκίας αἰρέσεως παρασπειράειν ζήλῳ. *H. F. l. 2. Pr. p. 216. C.*

SECT. 2. John, who was the longer liver of them. And in the appendix to Tertullian's book of Prescriptions, it is expressly said, that (g) Cerinthus arose after the Carpocratians, as it is (h) in Philaster likewise. I might add, that (i) Jerom also has this order: Saturninus, Carpocrates, Cerinthus, and Ebion, whom he calls his successor. However, I cannot say, that all this is sufficient to fix the time of Cerinthus with any certainty or exactness.

SECT. III. *Observations tending to illustrate his History.*

SECT. 3. **A**S for his history, there is scarce any one thing, in which the three forementioned writers of heresies agree, except in this, that he was of Asia, or that he lived there chiefly. Epiphanius says, that the Cerinthians were Jews, but neither of the other two say so expressly. Epiphanius speaks much of the opposition made by Cerinthus to the apostles upon the point of circumcision. Of which the other two say nothing. And the truth of this is disputed by some learned moderns, particularly (k) Basnage, and (l) Lampe. They say, there wanted not any particular leader in that affair. The prevailing sentiments of the Jewish people, especially of the Pharisees,

(g) Post hunc Cerinthus hæreticus erupit, similia docens. *Pr. c.* 48. *p.* 252. *A. p.* 216, 14.

(h) *H.* 36. See note (p) *p.* 150.

(i) Ad eos venio hæreticos, qui evangelia laniaverunt: Saturninum quemdam, et Ophitas, et Cainæos, et Setthoitas, et Carpocratem, et Cerinthum, et hujus successorem Ebionem. *Adv. Lucif. T.* 4. *p.* 304. *M.*

(k) Non nobis unquam Epiphaniï probari sententia potuit qui Cerinthum illis præficit qui de disciplinæ Mosaicæ observandæ necessitate ingentes in Ecclesia Antiochena turbas commovere, quibus sedandis concilium apostolorum hierosolymis convocatum est. *Ann. ad An.* 101. *No.* xi. *p.* 6. *vol.* 2. *Vid etiam ejusd. Exercit. Hist. Criti. p.* 358, 367.

(l) *Prolegom. ubi supra.*

sees, would incline many to insist upon circumcision as necessary. If Cerinthus had been at the head of all the disturbances raised at Jerusalem upon that account in the time of the apostles; why should he not have been named, as well as Simon Magus, Alexander, Hymenæus, and Philetus? Farther, they say, that Cerinthus did not appear in the world, till afterwards. They think, these considerations sufficient to overthrow a story, that relies almost entirely upon the credit of Epiphanius, (*m*) and is not mentioned by more early writers. SECT. 3.

SECT. IV. *Of his Principles and Sentiments.*

WE come now to his principles. What they are said SECT. 4.
to have been, we have seen. But the accounts are not without their difficulties. Tillemont therefore at the beginning of his (*n*) article of the Cerinthians, says not much beside the purpose. The church was from the beginning disturbed with two opposite heresies, which produced each one, divers sects. One, which had Simon for its author, held two principles, and said, that our Saviour was man in appearance only. Who are generally called Gnostics, and Docetes. The other heresy, opposite to this, is that of the Jews, who embraced the christian faith, but not in all its extent. They acknowledged one principle, and one God, and the reality of the human nature in Jesus Christ. But they denied his divinity, and

(*m*) However it is likewise mentioned by Philaster, who says: Hic sub apostolis questionem seditionis commovit, dicens debere circumcidi homines: cujus causa contra illum, et hæresim ejus decreverunt in suis Actibus apostoli sententiam, non de-

bere jam homines judaismo, id est, circumcisioni, aliisque talibus superstitionis vanæ parere carnalibus, qui de gentibus venientes credebant in Christum dominum nostrum salvatorem. *H.* 36.

(*n*) *Mem. Ec. T. 2.*

SECT. 4. and were fond of the ceremonies of the law. Nevertheless, however contrary these opinions are to each other, as well as to truth, the devil found means to join them, in order to form the monstrous body of the doctrine of the Cerinthians.

Cerinthus accordingly is reckoned, by not (*o*) a few moderns, a Gnostic. And yet he is no where said to have held the eternity of matter. Nor was he a Docete: for he asserted the real humanity of Jesus. Moreover he is placed by Theodoret in the second book of his heretical tables, among those who held one principle.

However, let us go over particulars. And in one thing all the forementioned writers agree that Cerinthus taught one supreme God, but that the world was not made by him, but by angels.

Concerning the person of Jesus likewise, their accounts agree in the main: that he said, Jesus was a man, born of Joseph and Mary, and that at his baptism the Holy Ghost, or the Christ descended upon him, after which he wrought the miracles recorded of him, and in the end died, and rose again: but that the Christ was impassible. And much to the same purpose we may observe in (*p*) Philaster, (*q*) Augustin, and the

(*o*) Cerinthus enim, quatenus nobis ex historia vetere innotuit, vere fuit Gnosticus, et ex disciplina Gnosticorum, sui petiit subsidia erroris. *Lampe. Prol. in Johan. Vid etiam Clerici Hist. Ecc. An. 80. p. 493. 1. Rectius cum Gnosticis componitur Cerinthus. Mosb. H. Ecc. Seculum 1. pt. 11. c. 5. § 16. p. 66. Helms. 1755.*

(*p*) Cerinthus successit hujus (Carpocratis) errori, et similitudini vanitatis, docens de generatione itidem salvatoris, deque creatura angelorum, in nullo discordans ab eo, nisi quia ex parte solum legi

consentit, quod a deo data sit, et ipsum dominum Judæorum esse æstimat, qui legem dedit filiis Israel. Docet autem circumcidi, et sabbatizare, et Christum nondum resurrexisse a mortuis, sed resurrecturum annuntiat. *H. 36.*

(*q*) Mundum ab angelis factum esse dicentes, et carne circumcidi oportere, atque alia hujusmodi legis præcepta servari. Jesum hominem tantummodo fuisse, nec resurrexisse, sed resurrecturum asseverantes. *H. 8.*

the author of the appendix to Tertullian, the (r) remainder SECT. 4. of whose article concerning Cerinthus, I now transcribe at the bottom of the page.

But perhaps it may be questioned, whether the opinion of the Cerinthians be rightly represented. They might speak of Jesus as a man only, though they thought him to be born of a virgin. That they allowed this, may be argued with a good deal of force, if they received St. Matthew's genealogy, as it perhaps may appear afterwards that they did. The opinion, that Jesus was born of Joseph and Mary was not only wrong, but likewise unpopular among christians. And I apprehend, that this is falsely ascribed to some, who spoke of Jesus as a man only, till the Holy Ghost came down upon him. Epiphanius in his article of the Alogians, having observed Matthew's account of our Lord's being born of a virgin, and that he was descended from David and Abraham, says: hence (f) Cerinthus and Ebion argue, that Jesus was a mere man, as also Merinthus, and Cleobius, or Cleobulus, and Claudius, and Demas and Hermogenes. But what reason has Epiphanius to ascribe to all these, particularly to Demas and Hermogenes, the same opinion that he sometimes ascribe to Cerinthus, that Jesus was born as other men are? However, if they received the genealogy in Matthew, as he says they did, (t) they might argue, that Jesus was truly a man, but must allow, that he was born of a virgin.

They

(r) Post hunc (Carpocratē) Cerinthus hæreticus erupit similia docens. Nam et ipse mundum institutum esse ab illis dicit: Christum ex femine Joseph natum proponit, hominem illum tantummodo sine divinitate contendens, ipsam quoque legem ab angelis datam perhibens. Judæorum deum non dominum, sed angelum promens. *Pr. c. 48. p. 252. A. p. 216. 14.*

(f) Εὐθεν γὰρ οἱ περὶ κηρύθου ψίλον τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατέσχον. . . Ἀντιλεγόντες γὰρ τοῖς

τῷ κυρίῳ μαθηταῖς κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιρὸν, ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ τὸν Ἀβραάμ, καὶ Δαβὶδ γενεαλογίας, τὴν αὐτῶν ἀνοιάν ἐπείσωντο παρῖταν. *Ep. Her. 51. p. 427. C. D.*

(t) Ο ἄνθρωπος Κηρίθου καὶ Καρπακράς τῶν αὐτῶν χρόνων οὐκ ἔδειξεν παρ' αὐτοῖς εὐαγγελιστὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς κατὰ Ματθαίου εὐαγγελίου. Διὰ τῆς γενεαλογίας βεβαιούται παρῖταν ἐκ σπέρματος Ἰωσήφ καὶ Μαρίας εἶναι τὸν Χριστόν. *Ad. Har. 30. No. 14. p. 138. C. D.*

See also the quotation, note (r).

They allowed the Holy Ghost to have descended upon Jesus at his baptism. Which is agreeable to our gospels. But by the Holy Ghost, probably, they did not mean a person, but a power, as Epiphanius expresseth it. And as to what is said, that the Holy Ghost, or the Christ was impassible, and left Jesus to suffer alone, their real opinion may have been only and no more than this, that the divine nature in Jesus, or the power that came down upon him at baptism, and by which he wrought miracles, did not suffer.

Irenæus and Epiphanius, in passages before cited, said expressly, that Jesus rose again, after he had suffered: which is not denied by Theodoret. Nevertheless in another place he says, they (*u*) supposed that Christ, or rather Jesus, who suffered and was crucified, was not risen, but would rise again in the general resurrection of the dead. And so likewise say (*x*) Philaster and Augustin. What they mean by this, I cannot tell: but I take the former account to be right, that they said, Jesus was risen. However, we have here a farther proof, that these people believed the resurrection of the dead. In which too they differed from those called Gnostics.

He was zealous for circumcision, and the rites of the Mo-
saic law, as Epiphanius says again and again; though no notice is taken of this by Irenæus, or Theodoret. And it is somewhat strange, that he should be so zealous for the law, if he taught that the world was made by angels, and that the God of the Jews, by whom the law was delivered, was not the supreme God, but an angel only. According to Jerome, this was the principal error of Cerinthus, that (*y*) he was for joining the law with the gospel.

Once

(*u*) χρῆσθαι πεπονημένοι καὶ ἐγανωσθαι, μήπω δὲ ἐγνησθαι μέλλειν δὲ ἀνίστασθαι, ὅταν ἡ καὶ θολὴ γινήται νεκρῶν ἀνάστασις. *H.* 28. *n.* 6. *p.* 113. *D.*

(*x*) See *p.* 150, *Note* (*p*) & (*q*).

(*y*) Si hoc verum est, in Cerinthis et Ebio-

nis hæresim delabimur, qui credentes in Christo propter hoc solum a patribus anathematizati sunt, quod legis ceremonias Christi evangelio miscuerunt: et sic nova confessi sunt, ut vetera non amitterent. *Ep.* 74. *al.* 89. *p.* 623. *M.*

Once more, Cerinthus is supposed to have been a Millenarian. So says Theodoret, though neither Irenæus, nor Epiphanius make any mention of it. What Theodoret says must have been taken from the works of Caius, and Dionysius, or the extracts out of them in Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History: of which we gave a large account (*z*) formerly. This is also mentioned (*a*) by Augustin. But Philaster, and the author of the appendix to Tertullian, are silent upon this head, and Le Clerc (*b*) seems *scarcely* convinced that this error is rightly imputed to him.

SECT. V. *Of his Morals.*

I SHOULD have had no occasion to have said any thing of Cerinthus's manners, if some learned moderns (*c*) had not represented him as a vicious person. For which I can see no good ground. They build upon some expressions of
X
Dionysius

SECT. 5.

(*z*) See vol. 3. p. 32. and vol. 4. p. 670. See also the quotation below.

(*a*) Mille quoque annos post resurrectionem in terreno regno Christi, secundum carnales ventris et libidinis voluptates, futuros fabulantur. Unde etiam Chiliastæ sunt appellati. H. 8.

(*b*) Caius qui sub finem secundi aut initio tertii seculi floruit, prodidit in dialogo cujus locum profert Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* l. 3. c. 28. Cerinthus qui per revelationes quasi a magno apostolo scriptas portenta finxerat, velut ab angelis sibi ostensa, intromisisse hanc doctrinam; qua affirmat, post resurrectionem regnum Christi in terris futurum, et rursus cupiditatibus et voluptatibus carnem Jerosolimæ versantem servitutam. Quin et dixisse inimicum illum scripturarum divinarum, fallere volentem, in nuptialibus festis mille annorum spatium

transactum iri. Cujus erroris etiam Dionysius Alexandrinus eum incusabat, ut eodem loco docet Eusebius. *Quod si verum sit*, Chiliastarum hic conditor haberi possit. *Clerici. H. E.* § 1. p. 493. II. See the original of this passage, p. 156, note (*n*).

(*c*) Non erant Cerinthis mores doctrinæ suæ sanctiores teste Dionysio Alexandrino: Hæc enim fuit illius opinio: regnum Christi terrenum futurum. Et quarum rerum cupiditate ipse flagrabat utpote voluptatibus corporis obnoxius, carnisque addictus, in iis regnum dei situm fore somniavit, in ventris et earum quæ infra ventrem sunt partium explenda libidine; hoc est in cibo et potu, ac nuptiis: atque ut honestiori vocabulo ejusmodi voluptates velaret, in festis, et sacrificiis, et hostiarum mactionibus. *Basnag. Annales. An. 101. XI.*

SECT. 5. Dionysius of (*d*) Alexandria. But they are only words of course in the way of controversy. And the Catholics who expected a Millennium, (*e*) had the same notion of it, that he is said to have had. There was nothing unlawful in either, though it was low and mean. And what may satisfy us, that Cerinthus was not a bad man, is this: that nothing of that kind is said of him by the writers of heresies: not by Irenæus, nor Epiphanius, nor Theodoret, nor the rest.

SECT. VI. *What Scriptures he received.*

SECT. 6. CERINTHUS received the scriptures of the Old Testament. Of this I think, there can be no doubt. For it is not denied by any. And it is plainly supposed by those writers, who speak of his zeal for the peculiarities of the law of Moses.

1. He received the gospel of St. Matthew, as Epiphanius says expressly in the place at first quoted from him; though not entire, as he there mentions. But he did not, as is supposed by many to be the meaning of that passage, reject the first, or the first and second chapters of St. Matthew. For, it

(*d*) Κηρύκον δὲ τὸν καὶ τὴν ἀπ' ἐκείνου κληθεῖσαν Κηρυκιδιανὴν συνησάμενον αἵρεσιν, ἀξιοποιεῖν ἐπιφημισαί, θελήσαντα τῷ αὐτῷ πλάσματι ὀνομα. τὴν γὰρ εἶναι τῆς διδασκαλίας αὐτῆς τὸ δόγμα, ἐπιγείον εἶσεσθαι τὴν τῆ χρεῖσθαι Βασιλείαν καὶ ὡς αὐτὸς ἀρεγέτο φιλοσωματὸς ὡς καὶ πάντες σαρκικός ἐν τῇ τοῖς οὐρανοῖς εἶσεσθαι. γὰρ οὖν καὶ τῶν ὑπο γὰρ οὖν πλησμοναῖς τῇ τῇ σιτίῳ καὶ ποτοῖς καὶ γάμοις καὶ δι' ὧν ευφημότερον ταῦτα ἀνὴρ ποιεῖται, εὐσταῖς καὶ δυσταῖς καὶ κερειῶν σφαγαῖς. *Enf. Ecc. Hist. Lib. 7. C. 25. p. 273. A. B. Vid. Credib. pt. 2. V. 4. p. 670.*

(*e*) Νεπὸς Ἐπίσκοπος . . . Ἰουδαϊκότερον τὰς ἀπαγγελμένας τοῖς ἀγίοις ἐν ταῖς θείαις γραφαῖς

ἐπαγγελίας ἀποδοθησεσθαι διδασκῶν, καὶ τινὰ χιλιάδα ἐτῶν τρυφῆς σωματικῆς ἐπὶ τῆς ξηραὶς ταύτης εἶσεσθαι ὑποτιθέμενος. *Ibid. C. 24. p. 270. D. 271. A.*

Τὴν δὲ τῆς συγγραμμάτων τῆς διδασκαλίας ὡς μέγα δὴ τὴν καὶ κεκρυμμένων μυστηρίων κατεπαγγελομένων, καὶ τῆς ἀπλῆστερης ἀδελφῆς ἡμῶν ὡς ἐν τῶν ὑψηλῶν καὶ μεγαλείων φρονεῖν ὅτι περὶ τῆς ἐνδοξῆς καὶ ἀληθοῦς ἐνδὲς τῆς Κυρίας ἡμῶν ἐπιφανείας, ὅτι τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστήσεως, καὶ τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπισυναγωγῆς καὶ ὁμοιωσεως· ἀλλὰ μικρὰ καὶ θνητὰ καὶ οἷα τὰ νῦν ἐλπίζειν ἀναπείδοντων ἐν τῇ Βασιλείᾳ τῆς Θεοῦ. *Ibid. p. 271. D. Cred. Ibid. p. 689, 690.*

it seems to me, (*f*) that he does there plainly say, they received the gospel, and were fond of it on account of the genealogy. Moreover in the article of the Ebionites he (*g*) says, it is allowed by all, that Cerinthus made use of the beginning of St. Matthew's gospel, and from thence endeavoured to prove that Jesus was descended in a natural way from Joseph and Mary. And another passage, cited not long ago (*h*) from his article of the Alogians, deserves to be here taken into consideration.

2. If the passage of Irenæus before quoted (*i*) relate to the Cerinthians, (as some think) they preferred the gospel of St. Mark to the rest. But it does not therefore follow, that he received no other. For he certainly received St. Matthew's, if not all the gospels: but it is by no means clear that that passage does refer to them.

3. If there be any truth in the accounts of his being a Millenarian, it is highly probable, that he respected the apostle John, if the Revelation be a work of that apostle. Several writers, who did not like the Millenarian doctrine received by many Catholics, affirmed the book of the Revelation, upon which they chiefly built, to be a work, not only of St. John, but of Cerinthus. So did Caius, as is allowed by Grabe and Mill, in passages formerly quoted in this (*k*) work. I put down here another passage of (*l*) Mill. Beaufobre (*m*) was

X 2

clearly

(*f*) See the observation on the quotation, p. 145, note (*x*).

(*g*) Ο μεν γαρ κηρυχθης και καρποχρηας τω αυτω χρωμενοι δθεν παρ' αυτοις ευαγγελιω, απο της αρχης τε κατα ματθαιον ευαγγελιον δια της γενεαλογιας εχονται παρισταν εκ σπερματος ιωσηφ και μαριας ειναι τον χριστον. *H. 30. n. 14. p. 138. D.*

(*h*) See before note (*x*) p. 145.

(*i*) See before, p. 142. note (*f*).

(*k*) See vol. 3. p. 32, 35. Vol. 4, 670, and 697.

(*l*) Sin autem apostoli hujus haud fuerit Apocalypsis, cujus obsecro? Cerinthi. Id enim affirmabat Caius in disputatione habitata coram Zephyrino, &c. *Mill. Prol. n. 167.*

(*m*) On fait mention d'une Apocalypse de Cerinthe, supposée sous le nom de S. Jean: et l'on se figure deux Apocalypses, l'une et l'autre attribuées à cet Apôtre. On se fonde sur un passage de Caius, Prêtre de Rome, allegué par Eusebe. Mais on peut s'assurer, que Caius parle de l'Apocalypse de S. Jean. *Hist. Manich. T. i. p. 455.*

SECT. 6.

clearly of the same opinion. And Theodoret in the passage cited above says, that Cerinthus forged some revelations, as seen by himself: probably, meaning, those in the book of the revelation, which we have. Caius's words are: (*n*) Cerinthus also, who by revelations, as writ by a great apostle, imposeth upon us monstrous relations of things of his own invention, as shewn him by an angel, says, that after the resurrection there shall be a terrestrial kingdom of Christ. This, I think, may be reckoned a strong argument for the antiquity of the Revelation. And if there be any truth in what is said of Cerinthus being a Millenarian, it is probable, he made use of our book of Revelation, ascribed to John, upon which all the Millenarian schemes were founded. But whether he wrote the book himself, in the name of John, or only appealed to it in support of his opinions, it is a proof he respected that apostle. And if he did, it is probable, that he received his gospel, and the epistle generally ascribed to him. (*o*)

4. Philaster says, that (*p*) Cerinthus did not receive the apostle Paul, but honored the traitor Judas. That he received only the gospel of Matthew, rejecting the other three gospels, and the Acts of the Apostles. But what Philaster says, in which he is not supported by others, I apprehend, needs not to be much minded.

Epiphanius however, as before quoted, says, that (*q*) the Cerinthians reject Paul. Nevertheless, there may be some reason

(*n*) Ἀλλὰ καὶ Κηρινθὸς ὁ δι' Ἀποκαλύψεων ὡς ἀπὸ Ἀποστόλου μεγάλα γεγραμμένων, τερατολογίας ἡμῖν ὡς δι' ἀγγέλων αὐτῷ δεδειγμένους ψευδομένος, ἐπεισάγει λέγων, μετὰ τὴν ἀναστασιν ἐπιγίγνεται τὸ Βασιλεῖον τοῦ Χριστοῦ. καὶ πάλιν ἐπιθυμίας καὶ ἡδοναῖς ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ τὴν σὰρκα πολιτευομένην δαλεῖν. καὶ ἐχθρὸς ὑπάρχων ταῖς γραφαῖς τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀριθμὸν χιλιοῦταετίας ἐν γαμῶ ἐορτῆς θείων πλάναν λέγει γενέσθαι. *Euf. H. E. L. 3.*

C. 28. p. 100. A.

(*o*) *Vid. Lampe Pro. in Johan.*

(*p*) Apostolum Paulum non accipit. Judam traditorem honorat. Evangelium secundum Matthæum solum accipit. Tria Evangelia spernit. Actus Apostolorum abjicit. *H. 36. p. 79. 80.*

(*q*) *Hær. 28. n. vi. p. 113. C. See before, p. 145, note (x).*

reason to question the truth of this, from what Epiphanius himself says elsewhere. For (*r*) he informs us there was a tradition, that when some of them had died without baptism, others were baptised for them, lest at the time when they should be hereafter raised up at the general resurrection, they should be punished for that omission. And it was supposed that St. Paul refers to it in 1 Cor. xv. 29. But he says, there is another and better interpretation of that text. And he afterwards (*f*) argues against them from Isaiah, and from St. Luke's and St. John's gospels, which seems to imply, that they respected these parts of scripture, as well as the gospel of Matthew, some part of St. Paul's writings, and the Revelation of St. John. Upon the whole then it appears highly probable, that Cerinthus flourished in the latter end of the first, or very early in the second century. And it is certain, that the Old Testament, and several of the books of the New Testament, were received by him.

(*r*) Εν οἷς καὶ τὴ παραδόσει πραγματὴν ἦλθεν εἰς ἡμᾶς, ὡς τινῶν μὲν παρ' αὐτοῖς προφθανόντων τελευτῆσαι ἀνευ βαπτισματος, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀντὶ αὐτῶν εἰς ὄνομα ἐκείνων βαπτίζεσθαι . . . καὶ ὅτι ἐν ἡμῖν ἡ παραδοσις ἡ ἐλθούσα εἰς ἡμᾶς φησὶ

τὸν αὐτὸν ἅγιον ἀποστόλον εἰρηκεῖναι, ἢ ὅπως νεκροὶ ἐκ ἐγείρονται. κ. τ. λ. *Ep. Har.* 28. n. vi. p. 114. B. C.

(*f*) *Ibid.* 11. vii. p. 115. A. B.

C H A P. V.

*Of Prodicus and his Followers.*S E C T. I. *Of the Account of him from Clements Alexandrinus.*

S E C T. I. **P**RODICUS is wanting in Irenæus, the additions to Tertullian's Prescriptions, Eusebius, and Philaster. He is mentioned by Tertullian and Theodoret, as we shall see distinctly hereafter. But our chief intelligence must come from Clement of Alexandria, by whom he is spoken of several times.

In one place he says, that (*a*) the followers of Prodicus boasted of having the secret books of Zoroaster. By which, as also by some other passages of Clement, we perceive, that there was a sect or heresy called after Prodicus.

In another place having spoken of some loose principles ascribed to the Carpocratians, or others, he says: like (*b*) things to these are the doctrines taught by the followers of Prodicus, who falsely call themselves Gnostics. They say, they are by nature the children of the supreme deity. But they dishonour their high birth, and freedom. For they live

as

(*a*) Βιβλὸς ἀποκρυφὸς τ' ἀνδρὸς τῆ δὲ οἱ τὴν προδικῆς μετιόντες αἵρεσιν αὐχρᾶσι κεντησθαι. *Sir. i. p. 304. B.*

(*b*) Τοιαῦτα καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ προδικῆς, ψευδωνυμῶς γνωστὴς σφας αὐτῆς ἀναγορεύοντες, δογματίζουσιν. υἱὸς μὲν φύσει τῆ πρώτης θεᾶς λεγόντες αὐτῆς, καταχρᾶμενοι δὲ τῇ εὐγενείᾳ καὶ τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ, ζῶσιν ὡς βέλονται, βέλονται δὲ φιληδονῶς.

Κρατῆσθαι ὑπ' ἑδνὸς νενομικότες, ὡς ἀν κυριοὶ τῆ σαββάτου, καὶ ὑπὲρ ἀπαντὸς γενὲς πεφυκότες, βασιλικοὶ παῖδες. Λαθρα γὰρ μοιχεύουσιν, καὶ αλωναὶ δεδιότες, καὶ τὸ καταγνώσθαι ἐκκλινόντες. Ποθεν ἂν κρείττης εἴσι τῶν κοσμικῶν, οἱ τοιαῦτα πράσσοντες, καὶ τοῖς χειρίστοις τῶν κοσμικῶν ὁμοῖοι. *Sir. 3. p. 438, 439.*

as they choose. And they choose to live in pleasure. They scorn to be controuled, as being lords of the sabbath, and the king's children. And kings are above laws. Nevertheless they do not every thing they will, being restrained by the laws. And what they do, they do not as kings, but as the vilest slaves. For they practise uncleanness, but privately, fearing punishment, and guarding against discoveries. But how is this consistent with freedom, when the apostle says: he that committeth sin, is the servant of sin. And how, when they do these things, which are despised and prohibited by the Gentiles, that is, when they are covetous, unrighteous, intemperate, impure, can they say, that they only know God? And if we say, as John in his epistle, that we have fellowship with him and we walk in darkness, we lie and do not the truth: but if we walk in the light, as he is in the light, we have fellowship with him, and the blood of Jesus Christ, his son, cleanseth us from sin. (1 John, i. 6. 7.) And how are they better than the men of the world, who do these things, and are like to the worst men in the world?

SECT. II. *Of Theodoret's Account of him, in which he is far from being exact.*

THEODORET's article of Prodicus following that of SECT. 2.
 Carpocrates is to this purpose: (c) Prodicus succeeding to him, instituted the sect of the Adamites. He made this addition to the doctrine of Carpocrates, that men should commit lewdness openly. For he ordained that women should
 be

(c) H. T. l. i. c. 6. p. 177.

SECT. 2. common, (*d*) and what follows. For proof of which he partly quotes, and partly refers to the afore cited, and another passage of Clement of Alexandria. Nor does it appear, that Theodoret had any authority for what he says here, or elsewhere, very much to the disparagement of Prodicus and his followers, but that of Clement of Alexandria. Upon whom therefore I shall make the following remark, leaving others after all, to judge, as they see good.

(*d*) What Theodoret further says, will be considered when we come to speak of the Adamians. In proof of what he here advances, he refers to Clement of Alexandria, from whom he has inserted two quotations, which however related to the conduct of some other heretics, and not at all to that of Prodicus. In the last part of what he says concerning him, he inserts the beginning of the passage which I have before transcribed at large, viz. "Such things the followers of Prodicus teach, falsely calling themselves Gnostics," &c. The whole of what he had before quoted from Clement, belongs to the Carpocratians or some others, and not to Prodicus; to whom it can be made to refer only by way of implication. What I have here taken notice of, hath been long ago observed by Bayle, whose words under the article Prodicus are these; "I ought to add, that with regard to another circumstance, Theodoret

"was not so exact as he should have been, "in quoting from Clement of Alexandria. "He makes him say of Prodicus what is "properly and directly said of some others, "and cannot be applied to him but in general, and by means of several indirect arguments." In another place, he (§) joins Prodicus with Carpocrates, the Cainites, and some others, and says, "They taught, "that souls were sent into this world, to "practice all manner of sensuality and "iniquity, and by such pursuits, to pay "homage to the angels, who had created "the world." It is very apparent then, that the authority of Theodoret is not additional to that of Clement: for what he says concerning Prodicus, he takes from him, and doth not even quote him fairly.

(§) *H. F. L. v. C. 9. p. 273. D. C. 20. p. 297. B. Compare C. 27. p. 311. D. 312. A.*

SECT. III. *Observations on the Account given us by Clemens Alexandrinus, which renders it probable they were not such licentious Livers as they are there said to have been.*

I. **I**T is hard to think, that men should be quite so bad as SECT. 3.
there intimated, who boasted of serving God; and who made a profession of excelling Gentiles, and men of the world. It does not seem to me, that men could be totally abandoned to all excess, with whom Clement would think to argue so mildly, but strongly, as he does from the words of St. Paul, and St. John, and likewise of our Lord, which I have in the forecited passage omitted. He seems to me to have been of opinion, that these men would be affected by this argument: which is more than could be hoped of men openly or determinedly wicked and profligate.

2. It is somewhat probable, that Clement did not certainly know they allowed themselves in the practice of those things which are generally agreed to be evil. For he only says, they did them in private, and endeavoured to conceal the knowledge of it from the world.

3. The case seems to me to be this. These men had some principles, and used some expressions, which might be abused, or which Clement thought might be abused, and understood to countenance the practice of wickedness. But they, it is likely, did not see that consequence: nor intended, that any such deductions or conclusions should be drawn from their doctrine. If there were nothing more to be alledged in favour of this, than what had been said already, this observation might be reckoned to have some degree of probability.

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But

SECT. 3.

But there are divers others things, by which this observation may be supported. For having cited some expressions of Carpocrates, or of some of that sect, he says: if (*e*) these, like the Valentinians, intended spiritual communions, possibly, some might receive their opinion: but to make carnal communion a mean to prophecy or inspiration, must be the sentiment of those only, who despair of salvation. Then follows the passage above cited. The like things say also the followers of Prodicus. But I imagine, that Clement may be here mistaken: and that the expressions which he quotes, and at which he is so much offended, may be understood in the same way, as he himself interpreted some expressions of the Valentinians. I might add, that Clement himself was not quite certain (*f*) that the Carpocratians were the authors of this book, from which he took these words. Another thing leading to this apprehension is in the midst of the passage above quoted. But, says Clement, (*g*) shall any one sin wilfully, and attempt to establish a doctrine for licensing and encouraging adultery, and such like offences? When any sin unwillingly, we pity them. But this is a different case. All which joined with what Clement says, of their practising lewdness *in private*, about which perhaps he had no *certain information*, makes me think, that he only suspected them, without any clear proof, and that this suspicion was founded on their doctrine

(*e*) Εἰ γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι, καθάπερ καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ οὐλαντινῶν, πνευματικὰς ἐτίθεντο κοινωνίας, ἰσως τις αὐτῶν τὴν ὑπολήψιν ἐπέδεξατο· σαρκικῆς δὲ ἡδονῆς κοινωνίαν εἰς προφητείαν ἀναγεῖν, ἀπεργνωκὸς ἐστὶ τὴν σωτηρίαν. Τοιαῦτα δὲ καὶ οἱ προδικοὶ κ.λ. Str. 3. p. 438. B.

(*f*) Εἰς τὴν δὲ οὕτως τὸ δόγμα ἐκ τίνος ἀποκρυφῆς . . . καὶ δὴ παραθεσόμεαι τὴν λέξιν τὴν τῆς

τῆς τῶν ἀσελγείας μητέρα. Καὶ οὕτως αὐτοὶ τῆς εἰδῆς συγγραφῆς, κ. λ. Str. 3. p. 437. D. 438. A.

(*g*) Ἐκὼν δὲ τις ἀμαρτάνειν βέλεται, καὶ δόγμα τιθεῖσι μοιχεύειν καὶ καθήδυνάθειν—, οὕτως καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀκοντῆς ἀμαρτανότας ἐλεῖται. Ib. p. 438. D.

doctrines or expressions misunderstood, and not on their conduct. However, after all, let every one judge, as the evidence appears to him. SECT. 3.

SECT. IV. *They are accused of believing the uselessness of Prayer.*

I PROCEED to another passage. Clement is discoursing of prayer. Some, says he, (*b*) have appointed times of prayer, the third for instance, the sixth, and the ninth hour of a day. But a Gnostic prays his whole life. Here, says he, (*i*) I recollect some of another opinion, particularly the sect of Prodicus, who say we need not pray at all. This then is another opinion of these people, that prayer is needless. Clement immediately adds, nor let them boast of this impious opinion, as if it were new, and their own invention. It was before them the opinion of the Cyrenaic philosophers. Tillemont says, (*k*) they learnt it from the Cyrenaic philosophers, but that does not appear to be Clement's meaning. What was their error, does not, I think, clearly appear. Clement proceeds to argue upon the point. But he does not argue, as if he thought them wicked and abandoned men. Their opinion, whatever it was, seems to have been deduced from some notions of the divine goodness, and from a misapplication of some texts of scripture: as if good men needed not to ask, but might hope for all necessary things without particular petitions, or express requests for them. Wherefore Clement

Y 2

argues

(*b*) Εἰ δὲ τινες καὶ ὥρας ταύτας ἀπονέμουν εὐχῇ, . . . ἀλλ' ὅτι γὰρ ὁ γνωστὸς παρὰ ὅλων εὐχεται τὸν ἑῶν. *Str. 7. p. 722. C.*

(*i*) Ἐνταῦθα γενομένης, ὑπεμνήσθην, τῶν περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν εὐχισθαι . . . τῶν τῶν ἀμφὶ τὴν

προδικῆς αἵρεσιν μαθεύσαντων προεληφθαι μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν κυρηναϊκῶν λεγόμενων φιλοσόφων. *Ib. D.*

(*k*) Ce qu'ils avoient tiré des philosophes Cyrenaïciens. Les Carpocrat. *Mem. Ecc. F. 2.*

SECT. 4. argues after this manner. (1) It is allowed on all hands, that God fully knows those who are worthy of receiving good things, and those who are not. From whence it follows, that God gives to all what is fit. Therefore he gives not to bad men tho' they ask often, and is ever ready to give to the good. Nevertheless prayer is not useless, though he should give good things without being asked. On which account thanksgiving and petition well becomes a Gnostic: and in particular he may pray for the conversion of others. Our Lord himself prayed. And even that faith whereby we believe we shall receive, is a kind of mental prayer becoming a Gnostic.

SECT. V. *From the Arguments used about them by Clement, it appears they respected Christ and the Scriptures.*

SECT. 5. CERTAINLY I think it must be acknowledged that the men, with whom Clement so argues respected our Lord, and the Scriptures, and were not void of the fear of God. They hoped, or supposed themselves to be good men, and that they should receive good things from God. And their omitting prayer, or not performing it exactly, as some others did, was founded probably upon some reasonings about the divine perfection, though wrong, and upon some texts of scripture, but misinterpreted. Clement's expressions perhaps may lead us to some texts, by which they were asserted, particularly Matt. xxi. 22. Mark xi. 24. John xvi. 26. 1 John iii. 22. But even these texts do overthrow the doctrine which they are reported to have held.

(1) Καθολα γαρ ο Θεος οιδεν της τε αξιως των αγαθων, και μη οδεν τα προσηκοντα εκαστοις διδωσιν. Διο πολλακις μιν αιτησασιν αναξιους εκαι δειη δοιη δε αξιους δηλονοτι υπαρχουσιν. Ου

μην παρελκει η αιτησις, και χωρις αξιωστας διδοται τα αγαθα . . . και τοι και η πισις τε ληψισθαι ειδος ευχης εναποκειμενης γνωστικως. Ib. p. 723. A. B.

SECT.

S E C T. VI. *They are accused of denying the Necessity of suffering for Religion.*

TERTULLIAN says, that (*m*) Prodicus was against Sect. 6.
men's exposing themselves to danger in the profession of religion. He there joins Valentin with him, as he does also in another (*n*) place, upon a different account, as if the followers of Prodicus and Valentin agreed in their notions about the divine government. But perhaps, we need not rigorously understand Tertullian, (*o*) who when a Montanist, was against flight in persecution.

S E C T. VII. *Of the Time and general Character of Prodicus and his followers.*

HAVING seen all these passages, we may perhaps form Sect. 7.
some conjecture about the time and general character of this sect, the followers of Prodicus; though we have not very exact accounts of their particular principles. They are not mentioned by any original writers except by Clement and Tertullian. For as to Theodoret he has no authority but Clement, and is inaccurate in that article. Prodicus and his followers are generally supposed to be successors of the Carpocratians,

(*m*) Quod si jam tunc Prodicus aut Valentinus adfisteret, suggerens, non in terris esse confitendum apud homines, quod nec deus humanum sanguinem fitiat. *Stat. c. 15. p. 633. D.*

(*n*) Quum alius deus infertur adversus creatorem. Tum male, quum plures, secundum Valentinum et Prodicum: tam in

monarchiæ everfionem quam in creatoris destructionem. *Adv. Prax. c. 3. p. 636. C.*

(*o*) Quum igitur fides æstuat, et ecclesia exuritur de figura nili, tunc Gnostici erumpent et tunc Valentiniani proserpunt, tunc omnes martyriorum refragatores ebulliunt, calentes et ipsi offendere, figere, occidere. *Scorp. c. i. p. 616. C.*

SECT. 7. pocratians, or followers of them. Theodoret says so expressly. But when what is observed above is duly considered, that Theodoret is not exact in his quotations from Clement, and that he lays hold of whatever he can against them, the conclusion is not certain. Tertullian has joined them with the Valentinians: which is perhaps as material a passage as any. As for the time in which he lived: it seems to me, that Clement never intimates Prodicus to be living in his days. He speaks only of the sect or followers of Prodicus. Prodicus himself probably had been dead some while before, and he may be reckoned an early heretic, near the time of Valentin, possibly about 120, or between that and 130. (p) Baronius speaks of him under the year 120, and places him next to Valentin.

We should observe farther, that Tertullian has not anywhere dropt any expression representing Prodicus and his followers as wicked and irreligious men.

Finally, from Clemens Alexandrinus (q) we may conclude, that Prodicus and his followers did not separate themselves from the other christian churches. Nor is any thing to the contrary expressly said by any other author.

(p) His Valentini discipulis enumeratis n. 38.
 haud placet inter eos ab aliis recenferi Pro-
 dicum. A. 175. p. 33. Vid ad an. 120.

(q) Strom. L. 3. p. 438. B.

CHAP. VI.

*Of the Adamians or Adamites.*SECT. I. *The Accounts of these People from Epiphanius and Austin.*

THE Adamians, says (a) Epiphanius in his summary, SECT. I.
meet together, men and women, naked as they were
born: and so perform readings, prayers, and other acts of re-
ligious worship. They are a kind of Monks, (b) and reject
marriage. They call their church paradise.

I immediately transcribe in the margin (c) a part of Au-
gustin's article, who follows the above summary.

In his larger work Epiphanius says, he had no certain ac-
count of these people: which we shall more particularly ob-
serve by and by. After which, and some other things
in his introduction, he proceeds. Their (d) churches are
stoves, made warm for the reception of company by a fire un-
derneath. When they come to the door, they pull off their
cloaths, both men and women, and enter naked into the place
of meeting. Their presidents and teachers do the same, and
they sit together promiscuously. And so they perform their
readings and other parts of worship naked. They have among
them persons who make profession of celibacy and virginity,
and

(a) P. 397.

(b) ἄνδρες μοναχοὶ τῆς καὶ γυναικισμοῦ οὐκ ὄντες. *Ib.*

(c) Adamiani ex Adam dicti, cujus imi-
tantur in paradiso nuditatem, quæ fuit an-
te peccatum. Unde et nuptias averfantur.

Nudi itaque mares feminaeque conveniunt,
nudi lectiones audiunt, nudi orant, nudi
celebrant sacramenta. Et ex hoc paradisum
suam arbitrantur ecclesiam. *H. 31.*

(d) Ἐν υποκαυστοῖς οἰκοδομίσθαι. *H. 52.*
n. 2. p. 459. B.

SECT. 1. and boast of it. When (*e*) any are guilty of faults, they are rejected, and cast out of the society: like as Adam, when he had transgressed in eating the forbidden fruit, was cast out of paradise. (*f*) For they reckon their church an emblem of Paradise, and themselves imitators of Adam and Eve. When they go out of the place of meeting, they cloath themselves again.

SECT. II. *Considerations tending to prove there never were such Heretics.*

SECT. 2. **T**HESE are the Adamites. And that there never were any such people, I apprehend, will appear from these considerations.

1. They are not mentioned by any ancient writer before Epiphanius, that I remember: not by Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Eusebius, Philaster, or any other.

2. Epiphanius had no certain knowledge of them, or account of them: as he expressly owns again and again. He had (*g*) heard of them from many. But he had never been himself acquainted with any of them. Nor had he met with any account of them in writing. Again, he (*b*) did not know, whether there were any such people then in being, nor whether the account or description that had been given him of

(*e*) Εἶδε δοξεῖε, τίνα, ὡς καὶ τὸτο λεγούσιν, ἐν παραπτώματι γενέσθαι, ἔκτε τὸτον συναγούσι. p. 459. C.

(*f*) Ἦγυνται γὰρ τὴν ἐαυτῶν ἐκκλησίαν εἶναι τὸν παραδείσον, καὶ αὐτὴς εἶναι τῆς περὶ ἀδάμ καὶ ἑβαν. Ib. D.

(*g*) Τὸτο δὲ ἀπο ἀκοῆς ἀνδρῶν πολλῶν ἀκηκοότες φάμεν, οὐ γὰρ ἐν συγγράμμασιν ἠυράμεν, ἢ

περιετρυχομένοι τοιούτοις τισι. P. 458. C.

(*b*) Εἴτε γὰρ εἰν ἡ τοιαυτὴ, εἴτε μὴ εἴν, πολλῶν λεγόντων ἀκηκοότες, ἀσφαλείας χάριν, καὶ περὶ αὐτῆς εἰπεῖν εὐλόγον μοι πέφηνε, καὶ μὴ παραλείψαι, καὶ τε καταλυεταί, καὶ ἔκτε ὑπαρχῇ· οὐ γὰρ ἀσφαλὲς ἐπιστάμαι, εἰ εἴτι εἴν, ἢ μὴ εἴν. P. 459. A.

of them was true. But he thought it to be the safest way to relate what he had heard, lest he should be guilty of a faulty omission, in not recording it. SECT. 2.

Is not this sufficient to satisfy us, there never were any Adamites? For what reason can there be to believe it, when the first, and almost only reporter owns, that he did not know whether there were any such people then in being, nor whether there ever had been any such men, as were described to him: and that he had not found any account of them in any writers before him. Nor does he give any the least intimation of the time when this sect sprung up, nor of the country where they had appeared.

SECT. III. *An Objection taken from the Practice of the Gnostics, and Answers.*

IT may be here objected, that in another place Epiphanius SECT. 3. says, the (i) Gnostics prayed naked: therefore there had been people, who might be called Adamites.

To which I answer, 1. That the Gnostics and the Adamites are not the same sect, or people. According to Epiphanius, the Gnostics were a vicious people, and practised lewdness in their assemblies. But he does not lay any such thing to the charge of those, whom he calls Adamians. These, as he represents them, endeavoured to imitate Adam and Eve, not only in the nakedness, but likewise in the innocence of their original states.

Another thing, which fully shews, that Gnostics and Adamians are quite different, is, that Epiphanius had never met with any written accounts of these last, nor known any of

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them

(i) Ευχονται γυμνοὶ ὅλῳ τῷ σώματι. H. 26. n. v. p. 87. C.

SECT. 3. them: whereas he had personally known some Gnostics, if he may be relied on: and certainly had met with accounts of them in many ancient writers, whom he had read.

2. What Epiphanius says of the Gnostics is not true. To take here the words of Beaufobre, Clement (*k*) of Alexandria was well acquainted with the Gnostics, especially those of Egypt. He often confutes them in his works: but never upon any occasion, reproacheth them with nakedness in any respect. And when he mentions the reports that went about of the impure worship of the Carpocratians and others, (for they were but reports) he allows them some remains of modesty. For he says, (*l*) that before committing their secret abominations, they extinguished the lights, which might have made them blush. This does not suit the impudence of men who affected perfect nakedness in divine service.

SECT. IV. *An Objection taken from Theodoret's Assertion that Prodicus instituted the Sect of the Adamites, answered.*

SECT. 4. **S**TILL it may be objected, that (*m*) Theodoret says, Prodicus instituted the sect of the Adamites. To which I answer, that Theodoret had no knowledge of Prodicus, but what he received from Clement of Alexandria, who says not any such thing of him. Nor could Prodicus be the author of the Adamian custom of praying naked, if he was against praying at all, as it is said. The Adamians, as we have plainly seen from Epiphanius, were never mentioned by ancient authors. Theodoret, probably learned the name and account of

(*k*) *Diff. sur les Adamites*, Vol. ii. p. 356.

(*l*) *Str.* 3. p. 430. D.

(*m*) Την των καλεσμενων αδαμιτων συνεσησασα αιρεσιν. H. F. p. 197. B.

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of them from Epiphanius. And rashly and hastily, and groundlessly says of Prodicus, that he was the author of this sect. And I humbly conceive, that Theodoret is to be blamed for this inaccuracy.

SECT. 4.

I may therefore conclude, that the Adamians are an imaginary sect, invented upon some slight pretext, and received without examination. I apprehend likewise, that I have reason to say, others are more to blame than Epiphanius. He reports only hearsay. And he over and over declares it was no more: and that he had never any acquaintance with any of them, nor had met with any account of them in any of the authors whom he had read. And are not men to be blamed, who believe, and relate again, as certain, what is reported to them upon no better grounds than this?

With regard to stories that have been in the world of ancient and modern Adamites, I would refer to Beaufobre's dissertation at the end of (n) Lenfant's history of the war of the Hussites: and to (o) several articles in Bayle's Dictionary.

(n) *At Amsterdam, 1731. 4to.* (o) *Adamites. Picards. Prodicus.*



C H A P. VII.

Of Marc and his Followers, called Marcosians.

S E C T. I. *Of his Time, his Country, and the
Sect from which he sprang.*

SECT. I. I BELIEVE, I should scarce have thought it needful to take particular notice of the Marcosians, had it not been for Irenæus, who has not only left a long account of them in his first (*a*) book, transcribed by (*b*) Epiphanius, but in his preface to his second book, reviewing what he had done in the former, he speaks (*c*) again of that account as somewhat of no small importance.

The order in Epiphanius and Augustin is Marc, Colorbasus or Colarbasus, and Heracleon. In Philaster and the additions to Tertullian, Heracleon, Marc, Colorbasus. But (*d*) Dodwell and (*e*) Massuet are of opinion, that Colorbasus (*f*) preceded Marc.

Massuet computes, that (*g*) Marc appeared about the year 160. As Eusebius seems to have understood (*h*) Irenæus to say, that Marc appeared about the same time with Valentin; Basnage (*i*) speaks of him at the year 127.

Many

(*a*) *L. i. a cap. 13. [al. 8.] p. 59. ad cap. 21. [al. 18.] p. 98.*

(*b*) *H. 34.*

(*c*) *Et Marci quoque magi sententiam, cum sit ex his, cum operibus ejus omni diligentia exposuimus. L. 2. Pr. p. 115.*

(*d*) *Diff. Iren. iv. n. 19.*

(*e*) *Diff. Præ. Iren. p. xlix. n. 84.*

(*f*) *Vid. Iren. L. i. c. 14. [al. 10.] init.*

(*g*) *Ib. p. 51. n. 86.*

(*h*) *H. Ec. l. 4. c. xi. p. 124. C. D.*

(*i*) *Annal. ad. an. 127.*

Many learned moderns are of opinion, that (*k*) Marc belonged to the Valentinian school: only making some alterations in the schemes of Valentin, and Ptolomee and Colorbasus, his immediate predecessors and masters. And they seem to have reason for so doing from (*l*) Irenæus himself, and (*m*) from Tertullian. Nor needs Jerom to be reckoned to dissent, though he calls Marc (*n*) a Basilidian Gnostic. Nevertheless (*o*) Rhenford and (*p*) Beausobre say, the Marcians were Jews, or Judaizing Christians. And Grabe (*q*) likewise owns that they were of Jewish extract.

It may be argued, that Marc was an Asiatic; because Irenæus speaks of his having seduced the wife of a catholic deacon in that part of the world (*r*).

We might be apt to conclude from Irenæus's manner of writing, that Marc himself had come into Gaul, and made many converts there. And so Jerom (*s*) understood him.

Nevertheless

(*k*) *Dedw. Diff. Iren. iv. n. 18. Mass. Diff. Pr. Iren. p. 50. n. 86. Basn. Ann. 127, n. ii. Tillem. Les Marcians in Mem. E. T. 2.*

(*l*) *L. i. c. 13. et 14.*

(*m*) Cujusdam veteris opinionis semen nactus (Valentinus) Colarbaso viam delineavit. Eam postmodum Ptolomæus instravit, nominibus et numeris æonum distinctis in personales substantias. . . Deducit et Heracleon inde Pamites suos, et secundus, et magus Marcus. *Adv. Valent. c. 4. p. 284. D.*

(*n*) Refert Irenæus . . . quod Marcus quidam de Basilidis Gnostici stirpe descendens, primum ad Gallias venerit: et eas partes, per quas Rhodanus et Garumna fluunt, sua doctrina maculaverit, maximeque nobiles feminas, quædam in occulto mysteria repromittens, hoc errore seduxerit: magicis artibus et secreta corporum volup-

tate, amorem sui concilians. *Ep. 53. al. 29. T. 4. p. 581. M. Conf. eund. ad Is. cap. lxiv.*

(*o*) Cum itaque Marcii et Heracleonitæ vel Judæi origine essent, quod quidem ex doctrina et lingua facile conjeceris, vel certe Judæorum morem sequerentur. *Rhenf. de Redemp. Marc. Sc. n. xxiii. p. 201.*

Sed quicquid sit, nobis non dubium est, quin Marcus et Heracleon Ebionitæ fuerint, idest, ex Judæis Christiani. *Ib. n. lxx. p. 224. et passim.*

(*p*) Une branche de Chrétiens Judaïzans, quoiqu' on les mette dans la classe des Gnostiques. *Hist. Manich. T. i. p. 368.*

(*q*) Sed et alia hujus vocabuli [*redemptionis*] notio inter istos hæreticos, origine, nisi fallor, Judæos, obtinuit. *Grab. in Iren. cap. 21. al. 18.*

(*r*) *L. i. cap. 13. [al. 8.] p. 63.*

(*s*) See before note (*n*).

SECT. I. Nevertheless learned moderns (*t*) think, that they were only disciples of Marc, who came into that country near where Irenæus resided, of whom (*u*) in one place he makes particular mention.

SECT. II. *He is accused of being a Magician.*

SECT. 2. **I**NOW intend to take notice of what Irenæus relates. But his account being long, and obscure in several parts, it must be abbreviated.

Marc, he says, deceived not a few persons of both sexes, improving upon the schemes of the forementioned Ptolomee, and Colorbasus: and pretending to great discoveries above all others. He was exceeding skilful in all magical arts. Whereby he had great success, persuading men to hearken to him, as most knowing (*x*).

Not only Irenæus, but Tertullian (*y*) likewise, and (*z*) Theodoret, call Marc a Magician. However, several of the writers of heresies, whom I generally quote, say nothing particularly of that matter: as Philaster, Augustin, and the author of the additions to Tertullian.

Several

(*t*) *Vid. Mass. p. li. n. 87.*

(*u*) Τοιαυτα δε λεγοντες και πραττοντες, και εν τοις καθ' ημας κλιμασι της ροδανθισιας, πολλας εξηπατηκασιν γυναικας. *Ib. c. 13. p. 65.*

(*x*) γυναικα και ανδρας υπ' αυτη πεπλανημενα τε και πεπλανημενης επηγαγετο. . . μαγικης υπαρχων κυβειας εμπειροτατος . . . προσεχειν αυτω ως γνασιωτατω, και δυναμιν την μεγαλην απο των αορατων και ακατονομασων τοπων εχοντι. (§) *Cap. 13. [al. 8. in.] p. 59.*

(§) The chap. from whence this is quoted, which is the 8th in Grabe's edit. of Irenæus, is in Latin. Grabe, in the notes, has quoted from Epiphanius all the words from *μαγικης* to the end. The passage in

Irenæus is, *Alius vero quidam ex iis qui sunt apud eos magistri, emendatorem se effe glorians, (Marcus est autem illi nomen,) Magica impostura peritissimus, per quam et multos viros et non paucas fæminas seducens ad se convertit velut ad scientissimum et perfectissimum et virtutem maximam ab invisibilibus et ab inenarrabilibus locis habentem fecit. Irenæus ap. Grabe, cap. 8. p. 56. Ox. 1702. Vid. Grabe. not. in locum.*

(*y*) See before note (*m*) p. 173.

(*z*) Ο δε μαρκος, και γοητειαν ησκηθη, και τινα παραδοξα δια μαγγανειας επιτελων, πολλης μεν ευαλωτων ηπατησιν. *H. F. l. i. p. 201.*

Several instances Irenæus gives of the magical arts of Marc, one may be supposed to have a relation to the Eucharist. Consecrating (*a*) a cup with wine, and using a long invocation, he makes the wine red or purple, to persuade them, the grace from above causeth his blood to distill into it. He also puts cups into the hands of women, that they may consecrate, and do the like. He also gives them a smaller cup, he holding another of a larger size in his own hands. And when they empty their cup into his, though it be larger, it is filled, and even overflows. But I apprehend, that such things as these, if really done, are not proofs of magic. They are only slight-of-hand tricks, by which heedless spectators, especially if they are willing to be deceived, may be imposed upon.

SECT. III. *He is said to have had an assisting Demon, and to have used various Arts of deceiving.*

I RENÆUS adds, It (*b*) seems likely that he has an assisting demon: whereby he himself appears to prophesy, and enables others, especially women, to prophesy likewise. For he is very assiduous in his respects to the female sex, especially the rich, and handsome, and well dressed. By which means he has seduced many women, both in body and mind, and has got much wealth. He also makes use of philters (*c*) and love-

(*a*) Ποτήρια οίνου κεκραμένα προσποιούμενος ευχαρίσειν, και επί πλέον εκτεινων τον λογον της επικλησεως, πορφυρεα και ερυθρα αναφαινεσθαι ποιεσ· ως δοκειν την απο των υπερ τα ολα χαριν το αιμα το εαυτης γαζειν εν τω εκεινω ποτηριω. *Ib.* p. 60, 61.

(*b*) Εικος δε αυτον και δαιμονα τινα παρεδρον εχειν, δι' η αυτος τε προφητευειν δοκει, και οσας

αξιας ηγειται μετοχης της χαριτος αυτου προφητευειν ποiei. Μαλις γαρ περι γυναικας ασχολειται, και τωτων τας ευπαρυφους, και περιπορφυρας, και πλεσιωτατας. . . οθεν και χρηματων πληθος πολυ συνειρηνοχεν. *Ib.* p. 61, 62.

(*c*) οτι δε φιλτρα και αγωγιμα προς το και τοις σωμασι αυτων ενδριζειν, εμπονει ο μαρκος. κ. λ. p. 63.

SECT. 3. love-potions, to gain the affections of women. His disciples (*d*) do the like, and have corrupted many women in the country near the Rhone.

SECT. IV. *Some Observations upon these Accusations.*

SECT. 4. UPON all which I beg leave to say, that possibly it might not be true. For *first* such things as these are given out of course concerning almost all heretics, whether these be good reasons for them, or not. Secondly, Irenæus, as it seems, was not fully acquainted with these people. Which may appear more particularly by and by. Thirdly, of these things nothing is said by Tertullian, or the author of his additions, nor by Theodoret, or Philaster. Though Epiphanius, undoubtedly, who transcribes Irenæus, has the same. Fourthly, Irenæus has inserted in his work a character of Marc in eight verses, writ, as he says, by some grave and pious person of his time (*e*). Wherein Marc is called idolater, astrologer, and magician, and his impious or erroneous notions are reflected on: without saying any thing of his, or his disciples debaucheries: which ought not, and could not have been omitted by the versifier, if such things had been common among these people, and generally known in the world.

(*d*) *Ib.* p. 63, 64.

(*e*) Ο θεῖος πρεβυτης, και κηρυξ της αληθειας
εμμετρως επιβιβασθη σοι, ειπων ουτως . . . Και

ταυτα ο θεοφιλης πρεβυτης. *Ib.* cap. 15. [al.
12.] p. 80.

SECT. V. *The Marcians are said to have regarded the Letters of the Alphabet as mysterious.*

THESE people are said, to have placed a great deal of SECT. 5
mystery in the letters of the alphabet, and thought that they were very useful for finding out the truth. Of which many instances, and a long account may be seen in Irenæus: who must be consulted by those, who are desirous to know particulars. However, I shall place in the margin what Theodoret (*f*) says of this matter: and the whole article (*g*) of the additions to Tertullian's book of Prescriptions. I shall give but one instance. They said, that (*h*) Jesus had in him all numbers: and therefore is said to be Alpha and Omega.

SECT. VI. *They are falsely accused of holding two Principles, and being Docetes.*

HERE I would observe, that by the just mentioned SECT. 6.
author, and (*i*) some others, they are spoken of as holding two principles, and as if they were Docetes, and
A a denied

(*f*) ΟΥΤΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΤΕΤΤΑΡΤΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΙΚΟΣΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΧΙΛΙΟΙΣ ΤΗΣ ΑΙΩΝΙΑΣ ΑΠΕΙΚΑΣΕ, ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΜΕΝ ΑΦΩΝΗΣ, ΤΗΣ ΔΕ ΗΜΙΦΩΝΗΣ, ΤΗΣ ΔΕ ΦΩΝΗΤΟΣ ΠΡΟΣΗΓΟΡΕΥΣΕΝ. *Ib.* p. 201.

(*g*) Non defuerunt post hos Marcus quidam et Colarbasus novam hæresim ex Græcorum alphabeto componentes. Negant enim veritatem sine istis posse literis inveniri: immo totam plenitudinem et perfectionem veritatis in istis literis esse dispositam, propter hanc enim causam Christum dixisse; ego sum A et Ω. Denique Jesum Christum descendisse, id est, columbam in Jesum venisse quæ Græco nomine quum περιγερα pronuntiatur, habeat secun-

dum numerum DCCC. Percurrunt isti ω, ψ, χ, φ, υ, τ. totum usque ad Alpha Beta, et computant ogdoadas et decadas, . . . Alterum deum fingunt præter creatorem. Christum in substantia negant carnis fuisse. Negant carnis resurrectionem futuram. *De Pr. cap. 50. p. 253.*

(*h*) ΔΕΙΚΝΥΟΝΤΑ — ΤΟΝ ΕΚ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΣΥΝΕΣΤΩΤΑ ΤΩΝ ΑΡΙΘΜΩΝ. κ. λ. *Iren. c. 15. [al. 12.] p. 76. in.*

(*i*) Christum autem putative dicit aperuisse, et passum fuisse quasi per umbram, non tamen vere passum corpore arbitratur. *Philast. cap. 42. p. 92.*

Marcus

SECT. 6. denied the resurrection of the body: of which things I see no clear evidence in Irenæus, notwithstanding the length of his account; nor in Theodoret.

SECT. VII. *They continued in the Practice of Baptism and the Eucharist.*

SECT. 7. **W**E saw before some reason to think, they had an Eucharist. That they baptized also, is apparent from (*k*) Irenæus, and (*l*) Theodoret. And if they had been able to have given rightly their form of baptism, it is highly probable, in my opinion, that it would have appeared to be very agreeable to that recorded at the end of St. Matthew's Gospel.

SECT. VIII. *Of their Opinion concerning Jesus Christ.*

SECT. 8. **T**HEIR opinion concerning Jesus Christ is largely represented by Irenæus, to whom I (*m*) refer. For his account is scarce intelligible. At best it is too prolix, and too obscure to be inserted here. However, they seem to have had a notion of (*n*) the great dignity and excellence of his

Marcus etiam nescio quis hæresim condidit, negans resurrectionem carnis, et Christum non vere, sed putative passum asseverans. Duo quoque opinatus est ex adverso sibi esse principia, quiddam tale de Æonibus quale Valentinus affirmans. *Aug. H. 14.*

Vid. et Epiph. Indicul. Hæres. T. i. p. 229.

(*k*) Οἱ δὲ ἀγνοοῦσι ἐφ' ὕδατος, καὶ βαπτίζοντες

ὕδατος ἐπιλεγουσιν· εἰς ὄνομα ἀγνοοῦν πατρός τῶν ὁλῶν, εἰς ἀληθειαν μητέρα πάντων, εἰς τὸν κατὰ θεόντα εἰς ἰησοῦν, εἰς ἐνώσιν, καὶ ἀπολυτρώσιν, καὶ κοινωνίαν τῶν δυναμῶν. *Iren. l. i. c. 21. [al. 18.] p. 95.*

(*l*) *H. F. l. i. p. 201. C.*

(*m*) *Vid. cap. xv. [al. xii.] p. 75, 78.*

(*n*) Ο ὁ ἰησοῦς ταύτην ἔχει, φησι, τὴν ἀσκήτην γενεσιν. κ. λ. *p. 75. n. 2. in.*

his person, or his ineffable generation. And according to them, he (*o*) was born of Mary, a virgin, and the word was in him. When he came to the water the supreme power descended upon him. And (*p*) he had in him all fullness: for in him (*q*) was the word, the father, truth, the church, life. They said, that (*r*) the Christ, or the Spirit, came down upon the man Jesus.

He (*f*) made known the father, and destroyed death, and called himself the son of man. For (*t*) it was the good pleasure of the father of all, that he should banish ignorance, and destroy death. And the acknowledgement of him is the overthrow of ignorance. By all which, I think, it appears, that these men had honourable apprehensions of Jesus, and the design of his coming.

(*o*) Τον δε εκκλησιας τοπον η παρθενος επι-
δειξεν· Ουτως τε ο κατ' οικονομiam δια της μαριας
γενισιουργηται παρ' αυτω ανθρωπος· ον ο πατηρ
των ολων διελθοντα δια μητρας εξελιξατο δια λογος
εις επιγνωσιν αυτη. Ελθοντος δε αυτη εις υδωρ
κατελθειν εις αυτον ως περιεραν κ. λ. *p.* 77.

(*p*) Κατελθειν εις αυτον ως περιεραν. κ. τ. λ.
Subintellige servatorem sive Christum, ex
omnium Aeonum collatione compositum, de
quo *p.* 33. *Lin.* 1. *hac habentur.* και εις
τутον επι τη βαπτισματος κατελθειν εκεινον τον
απο τη πληρωματος εκ παντων σωτηρα εν ειδει
περιστερης. *Grabe in Irenaeum. cap.* 12. *p.* 73.
not. 9. *Ox.* 1702.

(*q*) εχον εν εαυτω και τον πατερα. και τον
υιον, την τε δια τωτων γνωσκομενην ανονομαστον
δυναμιν της σιγης, και της απαντας αιωνας. *p.*

77. *infr. M.*

εσχηκεναι αυτον τε τον ανθρωπον, αυτον τε τον
λογον, και τον πατερα, και τον αρεhton, και την
σιγην, και την αληθειαν, και εκκλησιαν, και
ζωην. *p.* 78. *infr.*

(*r*) Το γαρ βαπτισμα τη φαινομενη [*con-*
spectui] ιηση, αφεισεως αμαρτιων· την δε απο-
λυτρωσιν τη εν αυτω χριστη κατελθοντος εις τελειωσιν.
Cap. 21. [*al.* 18.] *p.* 94. *infr.*

(*f*) Και τωτ' ειναι το πνευμα το λαλησον δια
ιηση, το ομολογησαν εαυτον υιον ανθρωπη, και
φανερωσαντα τον πατερα. . . Και καθειλε μεν
τον θανατον. *p.* 77. *infr. M.*

(*t*) Τεθειληκεναι γαρ τον πατερα των ολων
λυσαι την αγνοiαν, και καθειλεν τον θανατον.
Αγνοiας δε λυσις η επιγνωσις αυτη εγινετο. *p.* 76.
sub fin.

SECT. IX. *Of their Rites of Redemption, and the Meaning of them as given by Rhenford.*

SECT. 9. **T**HEY had some rites of redemption, which Irenæus (*u*) speaks of as very strange and absurd. And he seems to ridicule them. But, probably, Irenæus did not thoroughly understand them.

Rhenford says, that (*x*) by the word redemption, these people meant a form of confession, or form of prayer. And Grabe owns himself (*y*) convinced by what Rhenford has said upon this obscure subject.

Irenæus speaks as if they had divers of these things. But it seems, that they were chiefly two: one, at baptism, when the (*z*) minister made an exhortation, or proposed a form of confession to the person to be initiated or baptised. Then the person to be baptised made a confession of faith: and the by-standers or spectators wished peace or happiness to all on whom that name rested. The other was performed (*a*) in the near approach of death, or upon occasion of dangerous sickness. The confessions and prayers were in the Hebrew or Syriac language, which was much used by them, as Theodoret (*b*) says. And Irenæus, not understanding that language, nor any one

(*u*) *Cap. 21. [al. 18.] p. 93, 98.*

(*x*) Adeo ut per redemptionem, quam hoc illove modo edisserunt, nihil nisi formula intelligi possit, qua fidem suam de redemptione, vel redemptore, profiteantur. *De Redemptione. Marcos. Sc. p. 34. n. 207.*

(*y*) Per redemptionem, quam hic et paulo post memorat, certam orationis formulam intelligendam esse, non modo ipse Irenæi contextus—ostendit, sed et Judaici ritus

ratio plane confirmat, quam ex viri docti Jacobi Rhenferdii disputatione—explicatam dabo. *Grab. ad Iren. cap. 13. al. ix. p. 61.*

(*z*) *Vid. Iren. p. 95, 96.*

(*a*) *Ibid. p. 97. Conf. Rhenferd. n. xlv. Sc. p. 213, 216.*

(*b*) Αναμνησθῆναι δὲ καὶ ἑβραϊκὰ ὀνόματα, διδιδτομένοι τῶς τελειωμένοις, ὡς ἐπιμνησθῆναι περιττον ἡγησάμεν. *H. F. p. 201.*

one else giving him a right interpretation of their forms, his translations are not just. Rhenford is persuaded (*c*) that if we could attain to the true reading of the redemptions in Irenæus, they would represent a pious and truly christian meaning. His rendering of one of them used at baptism, as it seems, is to this purpose: The Messias (*d*) and Redeemer, who has redeemed me from this world, and all things therein, in the name of Jao, (or according to the will of Jehovah) and has atoned for us with the price of his soul, is Jesus of Nazareth: or Jesus of Nazareth is the Christ, the Redeemer, who has redeemed me from this present world with the price of his own life. And he thinks, that (*e*) whereas the Jewish nation in general looked for a temporal and worldly deliverance by their Messiah, these men, Jews by birth, heartily embraced the spiritual salvation proposed by Jesus.

Irenæus says, that (*f*) as many doctors as they have, so many redemptions are there among them. In which, as Rhenford says, (*g*) if these people were originally Jews, there

(*c*) Quo facto spondere ausim fore, ut genuinus horum verborum sensus et præclara ac homine Christiano atque orthodoxo dignissima sententia eluceat. *Ubi supr. n. vi. p. 196. Conf. n. xlii. p. 210.*

(*d*) *Vid. Rhenf. n. xvii. xviii. Ib. p. 199. et Conf. Iren. p. 95.*

(*e*) Cum vero Judæi in genere deum redemptorem suum confiteantur, et corporalem solum vel præcipue liberationem ejus sive præteritam celebrent, sive futuram præstolentur: hi hæretici, (ut ingenium hominum mireri!) Jesum Nazarenum hunc redemptorem esse celebrant, et mundanis beneficiis relictis, in sola spiritali et æterna ejus redemptione acquiescunt, hanc solam deprædicant. *Jesus Nazarenus* (Arrigite aures hæreticorum mastiges, et confessionem hanc demiremini!) inquit, est Messias et

liberator, qui vindicavit animam nostram ab hoc seculo vel mundo, et ab omnibus quæ in eo sunt, in nomine Jao, et expiavit nos lytro animæ suæ. *Ib. n. xxiv. p. 201, 202. Vid. et n. xli. xlii. p. 210, 211.*

(*f*) διὰ το ἐν ἑκάστῳ αὐτῶν, καθὼς αὐτοὶ ἐβόλονται, παραδίδοναι αὐτῇ. Ὅσοι γὰρ εἰσι ταύτης τῆς γνώμης μυσταγωγοί, τοσαῦται καὶ ἀπολυτρώσεις. *p. 93. sub fin.*

(*g*) Sed formulæ confessionis optime quadrat; quam alii aliis verbis conceperint atque pronuntiarint, etsi rem eandem omnes dicebant. Nempe ita olim moris erat apud Judæos, ut qui scholis aut synagogis præerant, alii alias precum formulas auditoribus suis dictarent. . . . quemadmodum apud Cl. Lightfootum videri potest ad *Matt. vi. 9. Sc. Ib. n. xxxiii. p. 207.*

SECT. 9. there is nothing strange, it having been customary for their masters to deliver each one for himself particular forms to their disciples, in somewhat different expressions, though in sense they all agreed in the main.

SECT. X. *They believed the Facts recorded in the Gospels.*

SECT. 10. IF there be any credit to be given to Irenæus's account of this people, they believed the facts recorded in the gospels, and they received most or all the scriptures of the Old and New Testament.

Some of the facts observable in Irenæus's account are these: that Jesus was born of a virgin, before taken notice of: that (*b*) John preached the baptism of repentance for the forgiveness of sins: that (*i*) Jesus was baptised, and that a dove appeared: that he revealed the Father, or taught the will of God, as before: that he went (*k*) up into the mount, with three of his disciples, where he was gloriously transformed, and Moses and Elias appeared: that (*l*) he was nailed to the cross, at the sixth hour of the day: not (*m*) to mention the history of the person who came to Christ, saying, good master, what good shall I do to inherit eternal life: nor (*n*) the petition of the sons of Zebedee for the first places in his kingdom: or, that (*o*) the apostles of Christ were twelve in number.

(*b*) *Iren. l. i. p. 94.*

(*i*) *P. 71. n. 6.*

(*k*) *ΕΚΕΙΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΜΕΤΑ ΤΑΣ ΕΞ ΗΜΕΡΑΣ ΤΕΤΑΡΤΟΥ ΑΝΑΒΑΝΤΑ ΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΟΡΟΣ, ΚΑΙ ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΥ ΕΚΤΟΥ. Ib. p. 71. n. 6. Conf. Matt. xvii. c. ii.*

(*l*) *Και την εκτην ωραν, εν η προσηλωθη τω ξυλω. p. 71. f. Conf. Job. xix. 14.*

(*m*) *P. 92. n. 1.*

(*n*) *P. 94. n. 2.*

(*o*) *P. 89. n. 4.*

SECT.

S E C T. XI. *They received the Scriptures both of the Old and New Testament.*

IT is exceeding manifest, that the Marcosians received the SECT. 11.
 scriptures of the Old and New Testament. As the first book of Irenæus is now divided, there are two chapters which shew what (*p*) texts or passages of Moses and the Prophets they alledged in favour of their hypothesis or scheme: and a third (*q*) giving an account of their forged apocryphal scriptures, and what texts of the gospel or New Testament they abused. And in the preface to the second book Irenæus reviewing the first book, and the contents of it, observes particularly, that (*r*) he had taken notice of the scriptures made use of by them.

S E C T. XII. *A particular enumeration of the Books of the New Testament used by them.*

I SHALL shew somewhat particularly the texts and SECT. 12.
 books of the New Testament made use of by them.

As they believed Jesus to have been born of the Virgin Mary, it is likely, they received the first chapters of St. Matthew and St. Luke, as well as other parts of these gospels.

They argued from (*f*) Matt. xviii. 10. (*t*) xi. 28. and other places, not needful to be referred: from (*u*) Luke ii.

49,

(*p*) Cap. 18. et 19. al. cap. 15. et 16.

(*q*) Cap. 20. al. 17.

(*r*) Et Marci quoque magi sententiam-
 omni diligentia exposuimus: et quanta ex
 scripturis eligentes, adaptare conantur fic-

tioni suæ, diligenter retulimus. *Ib.* p. 115.

(*f*) Iren. l. i. c. 14. [al. 10.] p. 67.

(*t*) Cap. 20. [al. 17.] p. 92. fi.

(*u*) P. 92. in.

SECT. 12. 49. (x) xix. 42. (y) xv. throughout. (z) Matt. xi. 25. and Luke x. 21. It may be concluded, that they received St. John's gospel, and his first epistle, from their talking so much of the *word* and *life*. They had in particular an argument from the latter part of the (a) xx. chapter of St. John's gospel. They received (b) St. Paul's epistles. They (c) seem to have received the first epistle of St. Peter. They received also the (d) book of the Revelation. And as Irenæus doth not find fault with them for rejecting any books of scripture, we may suppose, they differed little or nothing from other christians upon this head.

SECT. XIII. *Of their Apocryphal Books.*

SECT. 13. **M**OREOVER, says Irenæus, they (e) have an innumerable multitude of apocryphal and spurious writings, which they have forged. Particularly they make use of that fiction concerning the child Jesus, that when his master bid him say Alpha, the Lord did so. But when the master called upon him to say Beta, he answered: do you first tell me, what is Alpha, and then I will tell you what Beta is.

Theodoret too says, they (f) had a multitude of spurious books, though he does not name them.

I apprehend,

(x) *Ib. sub. fin.*

(y) *Cap. 16. [al. 13.] p. 80. 81.*

(z) *P. 93. in.*

(a) *Cap. 18. [al. 15.] p. 89.*

(b) Και τον παυλον ρητως φασκεσι την εν χριστω ιησω απολυτρωσιν πολλας μεμνηνκεναι. κ. λ. *Cap. 21. [al. 18.] p. 94. sub. fin.*

(c) *Ib. p. 88. infr. m.*

(d) Και δια τωτο φησιν αυτον Α και Ω, ινα την περιεραν μηνυση, τωτον εχοντος τον αριθμον τωτη ορευ. *Cap. xv. [al. 12.] p. 75. in.*

Και δια το Α και Ω ονομαζεσθαι αυτον, την εκ παντων γενεσιν σημαινον τα. *Ib. p. 76. in. Conf. Apoc. i. 8. 11. xxi. 6. xxii. 13. Et Vid. supra.*

(e) Προς δε τωτοις αμυθητον πληθος αποκριτων και νοθων γραφων, ας αυτοι επλασασαν, παρεισφερασιν. . . Προσπαρλαμεινανσι δε εις τωτο κακων το ραδιεργημα, κ. λ. *Cap. 20. [al. 17.] p. 91.*

(f) *H. F. p. 201.*

I apprehend, that when men use such hyperbolical expressions, as an innumerable multitude, abatement ought to be made, if we would think agreeably to truth. As that story concerning Alpha Beta is found in the gospel of the infancy of Jesus Christ, still in being: some are of opinion, that this gospel was composed by the Marcosians: so (g) Beaufobre, who has divers curious observations relating to that history.

(g) *Hist. Manich. T. i. p. 368.*



C H A P. VIII.

Of HERACLEON.

SECT. I. *Antient Writers who speak of him, and of the Time when he lived.*

SECT. I. **H**ERACLEON's country is unknown. Irenæus mentions him (a) and Ptolomee in his arguments against the Valentinians. Clement speaks of him as one (b) of the most considerable of Valentin's followers. Origen says, he was reckoned a disciple (c) of Valentin. Yet his time is not easily determined. Grabe is persuaded, he (d) was contemporary with Valentin. Basnage speaks of him (e) at the year 125, and Cave placeth (f) him at the year 126. Massuet professeth himself not able (g) to settle his time exactly. In Epiphanius, the order is, Valentin, Secundus, Ptolomee, Marc, Colobarfus, Heracleon. And he supposeth (h) Heracleon to borrow from the Marcians, or to agree with them in several things. In Philaster (i) the order is Valentin, Ptolomee, Secundus, Heracleon, Marc, Colobarfus. In Theodoret

(a) Antiquius autem et multo ante existens et honorificentius reliquis æonibus ipsius Ptolomæi et Heracleonis, et reliquis omnibus, qui eadem opinantur. L. 2. c. 4. p. 119. *Mass.* p. 120. *Gr.*

(b) Ηρακλεων, ω της ουαλεντινις σχολης δοκιμωτατος. *Str.* 4. p. 502. *B.*

(c) Τον ουληντινις λεγομενον ειναι γνωριμον ηρακλεωνα. *In. Jo* p. 60. *E. Huet.*

(d) *Spicil.* T. 2. p. 69. et 80.

(e) *A.* 125. n. 111.

(f) *H. L. T.* 1. p. 53.

(g) *Diff. in Iren.* p. lii.

(h) Ηρακλεων τοιουν ετος, και οι απ' αυτη Ηρακλεωνιται, ως προειπον, ομοιως Μαρκω και τισι των προ αυτη περι των Ογδοαδων φασκει, της ανω φημι και της κατω. κ. τ. λ. *Her.* 36. n. ii. p. 263. *B.*

(i) *De Her.* 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, p. 11. *La Bigne*, vol. 4. 1624.

odoret, Valentin, Secundus and others: in which (*k*) chapter he briefly mentions Cossianus, Theodotus, Heracleon, Ptolomee, Marc, as springing out of the Valentinian herefy. Then follows a chapter concerning Marc the Magician. Augustin's order is that of Epiphanius. The author of the Additions to Tertullian has a (*l*) different order. He placeth Marc and Colobarsus after Heracleon. But then he differs from (*m*) Tertullian himself.

SECT. 1.

SECT. II. *He was a Follower of Valentin, with whose Opinions his Sentiments nearly corresponded.*

WE need not scrupulously examine this person's opinions. He is, as we have seen, reckoned a Valentinian by several. The author last quoted supposeth him to have made

SECT. 2.

B b 2

but

(*k*) Και αλλοι δε μωροι εντευθεν αναφυσαν ηρεσιως αρχηγοι, Κοσσιανος, Θεοδοτος, Ηρακλειων, Πτολεμαιος, Μαρκος, διαφορα προεπινοησαντες δογματα. *Her. Fab. L. 1. C. 8. p. 201. A. B.*

(*l*) Extitit præterea Heracleon alter hæreticus, qui cum Valentino paria sentit, sed novitate quadam pronuntiationis vult videri alia sentire. Introducit enim in primis illud fuisse quod pronuntiat, et deinde ex illa monade duo, ac deinde reliquos Æonas, deinde introducit totum Valentinum. Non defuerunt post hos Marcus quidam et Colobarsus, novam hæresim ex Græcorum alphabeto componentes. *Præf. adv. Her. C. 49, 50. p. 216. 49. & 217.*

(*m*) Valentinus (§) Colobarsus viam delineavit. Eam postmodum Ptolomæus intravit. . . . deduxit et Heracleon inde

tramites quosdam, et Secundus, et magus Marcus. *Adv. Valent. cap. 4. p. 284. D.*

(§) Some Copies read "Veteris opinionis femini actu Colubrofo." This reading makes one part of Tertullian more agreeable to the other. Though then Secundus is here placed after Heracleon whereas in the forecited chapter he is placed before him. Post hunc (scilicet Valentinum) extiterunt Ptolomæus et Secundus hæretici qui cum Valentino per omnia consentiunt. Extitit præterea Heracleon alter hæreticus, &c. *De Præ. C. 49. p. 216.*

From this passage it rather appears that this author considered Heracleon as contemporary with Ptolomee and Secundus. Whereas Tertullian himself considers Ptolomee as his predecessor, and Secundus and Marc as his successors.

SECT. 2. but little alteration in that scheme. Epiphanius too says (*n*) he followed his predecessors in most matters: only making a few alterations, that he might have a party of his own. His summary is to this purpose. The (*o*) followers of Herecleon too have their ogdoads: but somewhat different from Marc, and Ptolomee, and Valentin, and others. They redeem dying persons with oil, and balsam, and water, as the Marcosians do; saying over the head of the redeemed persons some expressions in the Hebrew language. That Heracleon had Æons in his scheme of the creation, is evident from divers of his passages quoted by Origen (*p*).

SECT. III. *Commentaries written by him on several Parts of Scripture.*

SECT. 3. **H**ERACLEON seems to have written commentaries upon several parts of the New Testament, Clement of Alexandria having quoted the words of Matt. x. 32. or Luke

(*n*) Ηρακλεων τις τωτον τον Κολοβασον διαδεχεται, αφ' υπερ οι Ηρακλεωνιται καλημενοι, υδεν ητιον της παρα τωτον κενωφωνιαις ησκημενος. και οσα μεν εκεινοι λεγουσιν, και υτος οριζεται, κατὰ παντα τροπον . . . περισσοτερον δε δηδεν υπερ εκεινης εν εαυτω ανατυπωσαμενος τινα, βελεται εκεινης υπεραρειν, ινα και εαυτω συναγωγην ποιησεται των ηπατημενων. *Her.* 36. No. I. 262. C. D.

(*o*) Ηρακλεωνιται. Και αυτοι τη των Ογδωδων φερονται μυθολογια. ετερως δε παρα τον Μαρκον, και Πτολεμαιον, και Ουαλεντινον, και της αλλης. αλλα και προς τη τελευτη της παρ' αυτοις τελευτωντας ομοιως τω Μαρκω λυτρενται δι' ελαιον, υπο βαλσαμον, και υδατος, επικλησεις τινας Εβραικαις λεξεσιν επιλεγοντες επι τη κεφαλη τη δηδεν λυτρεμενη. *Ana.* L. 1. tom. iii. p. 229. C.

(*p*) Επι πασι το· Επιγευσεν αυτος και η οικια αυτη ολη, διηγησατο επι της αγγελικης ειρησθαι ταξεως, και ανθρωπων των οικειοτερων αυτω. Ζητεισθαι, δε φησιν, περι τινων αγγελων ει σωθησονται, των κατελδοντων επι τας των ανθρωπων θυγατρας. Και των ανθρωπων δε τε δημιουργη την απωλειαν δηλυσθαι νομιζει εν τω· Οι υιοι της βασιλειας εξελευσονται εις το σκοτος το εξωτερον. κ. τ. λ. *Ori.* tom. 18. apud Huet. tom. 2. p. 256. B. C.

Νυνι δε δηλος εστιν ομοιωσις τινας τω διαβολη λεγων ανθρωπος, ετερας, ως οιονται οι απ' αυτης υσις τυγχανοντι, παρ' υς καλησι ψυχικης η πνευματικης. *Ibid* tom. 21. apud Eun. p. 308. C. See also Grabe's notes, *Spic. Pat.* vol. 2. p. 238. note on p. 93. l. 16. & p. 96. l. 22. & p. 240. note on p. 107. l. ult.

Luke xii. 8, 11, 12. says: that (q) Heracleon explaining this place, has these very words: " There is a confession made by faith, and a suitable conversation, another by word of mouth. This is made before the powers, which many look upon as the only confession that is necessary. In which they do not judge rightly. For that confession may be made by hypocrites. Nor is it universally applicable. For not all who are saved have made this confession, and accordingly suffered martyrdom. Among whom is Matthew, Philip, Thomas, Levi, and many others. For there is a general and a particular confession. The general is made in works and actions, agreeable to right faith. The other, which is made before the magistrates, will follow this, if there be occasion. For there can be no question, but he will make a right confession in words, who hath before made confession in the tenour of his life." And what follows.

There is another short passage (r) out of Heracleon's commentary upon St. Luke.

Origen in his commentary upon St. John's gospel often cites Heracleon. The passages of Heracleon's commentary upon that gospel, are collected by (s) Grabe: and from him have been also placed by Massuet in his appendix to Irenæus. The passages of Heracleon quoted by Origen are above forty in number, and some of them long. Origen informs us, that (t) in John iv. 18. where we have: *Thou hast had five husbands*: Heracleon reads *six husbands*.

(q) Τὸν ἐξηγούμενον τὸν τόπον Ἡρακλεῶν . . .
κατὰ λέξιν φησιν. Ὁμολογίαν εἶναι, τὴν μὲν ἐν τῇ
πίσει καὶ πολιτείᾳ τὴν δὲ ἐν φωνῇ . . . καθο-
λικὴ δὲ ἡν οὖν λέγει, τὴν ἐν ῥ' ἐργοῖς καὶ πράξεσι
καταλλήλους τῆς εἰς αὐτοῦ πίσεως. κ. λ. Str. iv.
p. 502. A. D.

(r) Vid Ecl. Proph. ap. Clem. A. p. 804.
D. et Grab. Spic. T. 2. p. 85.

(s) Ibid. p. 85. . . 117.

(t) Παρα δὲ Ἡρακλεῶνι εὐρομένῃ ἐξ ἀνδρῶν
ἑσχατῆς. Ap. Orig. Huet. p. 207. B.

SECT. IV. *Containing Remarks on the foregoing Passages, particularly concerning what Parts of Scriptures he received.*

SECT. 4. **I**NOW make some remarks. 1. By Levi Heracleon means (u) Lebbeus, called also Judas and Thaddeus.

2. According to Heracleon, several of the apostles did not suffer martyrdom. He particularly mentions Matthew, Philip, Thomas, Levi. And possibly he had an eye to John likewise, though he does not mention him by name. Grabe says: This (x) passage of Heracleon deserves particular notice, who says of all these apostles, that they did not die martyrs. To whom, though an heretic, greater regard ought to be had, upon account of his early age, than to the fabulous accounts of modern writers, who make all the apostles to have suffered violent deaths. Beaufobre approves this observation of Grabe: and says (y) the testimony of this writer is worthy of credit, in a thing of this nature, since it is no part of his heresy, considering his learning, and that he lived near the times of the apostles. Nor does Clement contradict him.

3. The author of *Prædestinatus* imputes to Heracleon this doctrine: that (z) a baptised person, whether righteous, or not,

(u) Grabe *Ib.* p. 234. *Vid. et Cotel. note ad Const. Ap. l. 2. cap. 63. et l. 8. c. 22.*

(x) Apprime vero notandum testimonium Heracleonis, afferentis ex sanctis apostolis Matthæum, Philippum, Thomam, et Levi sive Lebbaeum, Jacobi fratrem, citra martyrium mortem obiisse. Cui, licet hæretico, sed apostolorum ætati perquam vicino, in hac re historica majorem fidem habendam puto, quam fabulosis recentiorum scriptorum

narrationibus de cruenta laudatorum apostolorum morte. Grabe *Spic. vol. 2 p. 234. note to p. 84. l. 4.*

(y) *Remarques sur le Nouveau Test. p. 171.*

(z) Baptizatum hominem, sive justum sive peccatorem, loco sancti computari docebat: nihilque obesse baptizatis peccata memorabat: dicens, sicut non in se recipit natura ignis gelu, ita baptizatus non in se recipit peccatum. *Præd. H. 16.*

not, is a faint: and that whatever sins a man is guilty of after baptism, they do not hurt him. Basnage has well observed, that (a) the forecited excellent passage of Heracleon confutes this account. And besides, Grabe says, that (b) Prædestinatus deserves no credit in what he writes of Heracleon.

4. Heracleon owned the authority of the apostles of Christ. This may be concluded from the mention he makes of several of them in the forecited passage, and from his commentaries upon the gospels of St. Luke and St. John. Many of which are given us by Origen, particularly his observations (c) upon Matt. viii. 12. and If. i. 2. And his comment upon (d) John iv. 50. And it might be argued, that he admitted the authority of St. Peter from (e) his quoting the preaching ascribed to (§) him. He likewise received St. Paul, and his writings. For he quotes (f) the beginning of the 12th chapter to

(a) Est quoque falsissimum Heracleonem sententiæ fuisse ejusmodi, hominem qui baptismum adeptus fuerit, sive justum, sive peccatorem, in sancti loco ducendum esse. Prædestinati figmentum refellunt verba Heracleonis quæ ex Clemente & Alexandrino protulimus. *An. in Ann.* 105. No. III. p. 58.

(b) Sed nullam iste auctor meretur fidem in his quæ de Heracleone tradidit, quod tempora nullatenus congruant. *Grabe Spic. Pat. vol. 2. p. 81, 82.*

(c) δηλωσθαι νομιζει εν τω* οι υιοι της Εκκλησιας εξελουσιν εις το σκοτος το εξωτερον* και περι τωτων τον ησαν προφητευειν το* υιος εγεννησα, και εψατα* αυτοι δε με ηθετησαν. *Origenis Commen. in Johan. tom. 2. p. 256. Huet.*

(d) See the passage at large, p. 188. n. (p).
(e) *Ap. Orig. in Job. T. 2. p. 211. E. Huet.*

(§) I formerly referred to that passage in a note, *vol. 2. p. 537. first edit. p. 539.*

2d. edit. Nevertheless it is wanting in Grabe's collections of Heracleon's fragments: as is also another short quotation a little before it, and nearer the beginning of the 14th some of Origen's commentaries upon St. John, &c. *Grab. Spic. T. ii. p. 99.* As they are wanting in Grabe, so likewise in Massuet. Which shews, that some things may escape the observation of the most diligent.

N. B. Even Dr. Lardner, though so diligent, has not been sufficiently attentive here: for Grabe has inserted the first of these passages in *vol. 1. p. 64.* as a fragment of the preaching of Peter, and has given his reasons for inserting it in that place, in his notes at the end of *vol. 2. p. 239. note on p. 99. l. 18.* If the other passage is in Grabe, it has escaped me. *H.*

(f) καθ' ο και ο αποστολος διδασκει λεγων λογικη λατρειαν την τεικτην θεωσεειαν. *Ib. p. 217 C.*

SECT. 4. to the Romans. Moreover Origen gives us Heracleon's (g) interpretation of 1 Cor. xv. 53, 54.

5. It is highly probable, that Heracleon received all the books of the New Testament, as other Christians did. At least we have no reason to doubt it. He seems likewise to have received the Old Testament, as may be argued from his quotation of Ifaiah, before taken notice of.

6. Heracleon's commentaries upon St. Luke and St. John are an early evidence of the respect shewn to the scriptures of the New Testament. And it is reasonable to think, that others beside Heracleon, both Catholics and Heretics, published commentaries upon some of the books of scriptures, about the same time.

7. Finally, Heracleon's commentaries bear testimony to the antiquity and genuineness of St. John's introduction to his gospel. Forasmuch as several of his passages in Origen contain remarks upon it.

(g) Και η αθανατον γε ειναι ηγειται την ψυχην ο ηρακλειων, αλλ' επιτηδειως εχυσαν προς φωτησαν, αυτην λεγων ειναι το ενδυομενον αφθαρ- σιαν φθαζτον, και αθανασιαν θητον εντα, οται κατεπεθη ο θανατος αυτης εις νικος. Ibid. T. 2. p. 255. D.



C H A P. IX.

Of C E R D O N.

S E C T. I. *Of his Time.*

IRENÆUS twice says, that (a) Cerdon came to Rome SECT. 1.
in the time of Hyginus, the ninth bishop of Rome after
the apostles. Eusebius in his Chronicle supposes (b) Valentin
and Cerdon to have come to Rome together in the time of
Hyginus, in the third year of the Emperor Antonine the
Pious, and the year of Christ 141.

Pagi was of opinion, that (c) Cerdon came to Rome in
140, or sooner, in the later part of the time of Hyginus.
Maffuet (d) placeth him in 141. Bafnage speaks of him (e)
as flourishing under Hyginus, in the time of Adrian, about
the year 125. And Spondanus (f) speaks first of him under
the year 146, and again under the year 155.

S E C T. II. *Of his Opinions.*

HE taught, as Irenæus informs us, that (g) the God de- SECT. 2.
clared in the law and the prophets is not the Father
of our Lord Jesus Christ. For he was well known, the latter
unknown: moreover, *he was just, this good.*

C c

Epiphanius's

(a) L. i. c. 27. [al. 28.] n. 1. Gr. 103.
L. 3. c. 4. n. 3. Gr. 206. Conf. Euseb.
L. 4. c. 11.

(b) Sub Hygino Romanæ urbis episcopo,
Valentinus hærefiarches et Cerdo magister
Marcionis, Romam venerunt. Chr. p. 168.

(c) In. Baron. Ann. 144. n. ii.

(d) Diff. Iren. p. lxvii. n. 134.

(e) Ann. 125. n. ii.

(f) Annales Eccles. p. 149, 151.

(g) Εδίδαξε, τον υπο τη νομι και προφηταν
κεκηρυγμενον θεον μη ειναι πατερα τη κυρια ημων
ιησου χριστου. Τον μεν γαρ γνωριζεσθαι, τον δε
αγνωστα ειναι: και τον μεν δικαιον, τον δε αχρηστον
υπαρχειν. Iren. L. i. c. 27. n. 1. Vid. et
Euseb. l. iv. c. 11. inf.

Epiphanius's summary is to this purpose: that (*b*) Cerdon learned his doctrine from Heracleon; making however some additions of his own: that he came from Syria to Rome, and there spread his notions in the time of Hyginus. He held two contrary principles: he said, that Christ was not born. He denied the resurrection of the dead, and rejected the Old Testament. In his larger article Epiphanius writes, that (*i*) Cerdon succeeded Heracleon, and came from Syria to Rome in the time of Hyginus, the ninth bishop after the apostles: that like many other heretics, he held two principles, and two Gods; one good and unknown, the Father of Jesus: the other the Creator, evil, and known, who spake in the law, appeared to the prophets, and was often seen. He taught moreover, that Jesus was not born of Mary, and that he had flesh in appearance only. He denied the resurrection of the body, and rejected the Old Testament. He said that Christ descended from the unknown Father: that he came to overthrow the empire and dominion of the Creator of the world, as many other heretics do, and having been a short time at Rome, he transmitted his venom to Marcion, who succeeded him.

Theodoret's account of Cerdon is to this effect: he (*k*) was in the time of the first Antonine. He taught, that there is one God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, unknown to the prophets: another, the Maker of the universe, the giver of the Mosaic law: and this *last* is *just*, the *other* good. For (*l*) he in the law orders, *that an eye should be given for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth*: but the good God in the gospels (*m*) com-

(*b*) *Epiph.* p. 230.

(*i*) *H.* 41. n. 1. p. 300.

(*k*) *Hær. Fab.* l. i. c. 24. p. 209. C. D.

(*l*) See *Matt.* v. 38, 40. & *Luke* vi. 29.

(*m*) Ο δὲ ἀγαθὸς ἐν ταῖς εὐαγγελίαις κελεύει.

Ib. p. 209. D.

commands, that *to him who smiteth thee on the right cheek, turn the other also*: and that to him who would take away thy coat, thou shouldest give thy cloak also. He in the law directs to love a friend, and hate an enemy: but the *other* to love even our enemies. Not observing, says Theodoret, that in the law it is directed, (*n*) that if *a man meet his enemies or going astray, he should bring him back: and not forbear to help his beast, when lying under his burden*: and that he who according to him is alone good, threatens (*o*) *hell-fire to him who calls his brother fool*: and shewing himself to be just, said: (*p*) *with what measure ye meet, it shall be meted to you again*.

I insert (*q*) Philaster's account intire; and put in the margin (*r*) the greater part of Augustine's article concerning this person.

SECT. III. *He was an admirer of Virginitie, and is said to have recanted his Errors.*

CERDON too, as well as Marcion, though this is not often mentioned, was a great admirer of virginitie, and

SECT. 3.

C c 2

recom-

(*n*) See Exod. xxiii. 34.

(*o*) Matt. v. 22.

(*p*) Matt. vii. 2. and Luke vi. 38.

(*q*) Cerdon autem quidam surrexit post hos, pejus suis doctoribus prædicans, qui cum venisset Romam de Syria, ausus est dicere duo esse principia, id est unum Deum bonum, et unum malum: et Deum quidem bonum, bona facere, et malum mala. Jesum autem Salvatorem non natum asserit de Virgine, nec apparuisse in carne nec de caelo descendisse, sed putative visum fuisse hominibus, qui non videbatur inquit, vere, sed erat umbra: unde et putabatur quibusdam pati, non tamen vere

patiebatur. C. 44. Ed. Fab. p. 11. C. 16. La Bigne.

(*r*) Qui duo principia sibi adversantia dogmatizavit: Deumque Legis et Prophetarum non esse Patrem Christi, nec bonum esse, sed justum: Patrem vero Christi bonum: Christumque ipsum nec natum ex femina, neque habuisse carnem: nec vere mortuum, vel quidquam passum, sed simulasse passionem. Quidam vero in duobus principiis suis duos deos ita eum dixisse perhibent, ut unus eorum esset bonus, alter autem malus. Resurrectionem mortuorum negat, spernens etiam Testamentum Vetus. Aug. de Hær. c. 21.

SECT. 3. recommended it to his followers, as we learn from Theodoret (*f*).

Irenæus says, (*t*) that when Cerdon was at Rome he several times renounced his errors, and was received. But at length for returning to them again, or for teaching them in a clandestine manner, he was finally excluded from the church. That passage, as well as others from Irenæus, is transcribed by Eusebius in his Ecclesiastical History. (*u*) And Valesius, in his notes upon the place of Eusebius argues, that Cerdon was not ejected, but separated himself from the church.

Tertullian in his (*x*) Prescriptions tells a like story of Marcion. But it is generally supposed by learned men, that Tertullian was mistaken. Rigaltius (*y*) has made this observation, and Beaufobre (*z*) is clearly of opinion, that Tertullian confounded Marcion with Cerdon. Tillemont is also of the same sentiments. (*a*)

(*f*) Κερδων μεν εν, και μαρκιων, την παρθενιαν ενομοθετησαν. . . κ. λ. Theod. H. F. l. v. c. 24. *inf*.

(*t*) Κερδων δε . . . εις την εκκλησιαν ελθων, και εξομολογημενος, οτως διτελεσσε, ποτε μεν λαθροδιδασκαλων, ποτε δε παλι εξομολογημενος, ποτε δε ελεγχομενος εφ' οis εδιδασκε κακως, και αφισταμενος της των αδελφων συνοδιας. Iren. l. 3, c. 4. n. 3.

(*u*) Tandem vero Cerdon convictus quod post toties iteratam exomologesim, pestiferum virus erroris sui occulte spargeret, penitus se ab Ecclesia removit. Id enim sonant Irenæi verba; quæ Rufinus et Christophorus perperam meo judicio interpretati sunt. Neque enim Cerdonem ex ecclesia ejectum fuisse dicit Irenæus, sed ipsum se ab Ecclesia penitus segregasse. Ex quo apparet, Cerdonem suo ipsius judicio condemnatum, prævenisse Ecclesiæ sententiam. Eccles. Hist. l. 4. c. 11. *Ini. et Annota. in eundem. p. 65.*

(*x*) Nam constat illos (Valentinum et Marcionem) . . . in Catholicam primo doctrinam credidisse apud Ecclesiam Romanam, donec ob inquietam semper eorum curiositatem, qua fratres quoque vitiabant, semel et iterum ejecli. . . Postmodum Marcion penitentiam confessus, cum conditioni datæ sibi occurrit—morte præventus est. C. 30. p. 242. or 209. ed. 1597.

(*y*) Non solet Septimius exactissime reddere quæ ab auctoribus sumit. Rigalt. in Not. ad Lib. de Præf. C. 30.

(*z*) En effet quand j'ai comparé ce qu'il dit de Marcion avec ce que S. Irenée dit de Cerdon, je me suis aperçu qu'il a confondu Marcion avec Cerdon. C'est ce dernier qui fut repris plus d'une fois à cause de ses Erreurs, et plus d'une fois reconcilié à l'Eglise à la faveur d'une pénitence simulée. Hist. de Manich. T. 2. n. 6. p. 77.

(*a*) Mem. Ecc. T. 2. P. 2. p. 514.

S E C T. IV. *What Scriptures were received by him.*

THE authors before cited inform us, that Cerdon re- SECT. 4.
jected or despised the Old Testament. As they say
nothing of his rejecting any of the books of the New Testa-
ment, we ought to conclude, that he received them, as other
christians did.

Indeed the author of the additions to Tertullian's book of
Prescriptions says, that (*b*) Cerdon received only the gospel of
St. Luke, and that not entire: that he did not receive all St.
Paul's epistles, nor the whole of those of them, which he
did receive. And that moreover he rejected the Acts of the
Apostles, and the Apocalypse. But since Irenæus and other
antient authors are totally silent about this, it may be reckoned
not to be true. This was Marcion's sentiment. And, pro-
bably, it is one of those things, in which he is said to have
exceeded all that went before him.

(*b*) Accedit his Cerdon quidam. . . . neque totas epistolas sumit. Acta Aposto-
Hic prophetias et legem repudiat. . . . lorum et Apocalypsin quasi falsa rejicit.
Solum Evangelium Lucæ, nec tamen totum Præfer. c. 51. p. 253. al. 217.
recipit. Apostoli Pauli neque omnes,

CHAP. X.

*Of Marcion and his Followers.*SECT. I. *Some general Account of him from Irenaeus.*

SECT. I.

AS we are now come to Marcion, it may be best to take a passage of Irenæus at length, as a summary account, to be afterwards commented upon.

Marcion (*a*) of Pontus, successor of Cerdon, added to his doctrine, with greater assurance; blaspheming him who is declared to be God by the law and the prophets; who, as he says, appears to be author of evil, delighting in war, inconstant, and contrary to himself. But Jesus, he says, came from the Father, who is superior to the God that made the world. He came into Judea in the time of Pontius Pilate, governour under Tiberius Cæsar. He appeared to them in the

(*a*) Succedens autem ei Marcion Ponticus ampliavit doctrinam impudorate blasphemans eum, qui a Lege et Prophetis annuntiatus est deus: malorum factorem, et bellorum concupiscentem, et inconstantem quoque sententia, et contrarium sibi ipsum dicens. Jesum autem ab eo Patre, qui est super mundi fabricatorem Deum, venientem in Judæam temporibus Pontii Pilati Præsidis, qui fuit procurator Tiberii Cæsaris, in hominis forma manifestatum his qui in Judæa erant, dissolventem Prophetas et Legem, et omnia opera ejus Dei, qui mundum fecit, quem et Cosmocratorem dicit. Et super hæc, id quod est secundum Lucam Evangelium circumcidens, et omnia

quæ sunt de generatione Domini conscripta, et de doctrina sermonum Domini multa auferens, in quibus manifestissime conditorem hujus universitatis suum patrem confitens dominus conscriptus est—non Evangelium, sed particulam Evangelii tradens eis. Similiter autem et Apostoli Pauli epistolas abscidit, auferens quæcunque manifeste dicta sunt ab Apostolo de eo Deo, qui mundum fecit, quoniam hic pater domini nostri Jesu Christi, et quæcunque ex Prophetis memorans Apostolus docuit prænuntiantibus adventum domini.

Salutem autem solum animarum esse futuram earum, quæ ejus doctrinam didicissent:

the form of a man, dissolving the law and the prophets, and all the works of him that made the world. Moreover, he mutilated the gospel according to Luke, striking out all that relates to our Lord's nativity, and taking away many other things, from our Lord's discourses, especially where he speaks of the Creator of this world as his Father. Thus delivering to his disciples not the gospel, but a scrap of it. In like manner he curtails the epistles of the Apostle Paul, taking away those passages, where the Apostle plainly speaks of the Creator of the world, as the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and also his quotations from the prophetic writings, that foretell the coming of the Lord. He held, that the soul only will be saved. As for the body, it being taken from matter, it is, with him, incapable of salvation. Beside all these blasphemies, he maintained, that Cain, and the people of Sodom, and the Egyptians, and all the nations in general, though they had lived in all manner of wickedness, were saved by the Lord, when he descended into hell: (or the invisible world, the receptacle of departed spirits:) for they came to him, and he took them up into his kingdom. But that Abel, and Enoch, and Noah, and the Patriarchs, and the Prophets, and other righteous men, who walked with God, and pleased him, did not obtain salvation. For, says he, they knew their God had been wont to tempt or try them: and they suspected,

sent: corpus autem, videlicet quoniam a terra fit sumtum, impossibile esse participare salutem. Super blasphemiam autem, quæ est in Deum, adjecit et hoc. . . Cain, et eos qui similes sunt ei, et Sodomitas et Ægyptios, et similes eis, et omnes omnino gentes, quæ in omni permixtione malignitatis ambulaverunt, salvatas esse a Domino, cum descendisset ad inferos, et accurrissent ei, et in suum assumfisse regnum. Abel au-

tem et Enoch, et Noe, et reliquos justos, et eos qui sunt erga Abraham Patriarcham, cum omnibus Prophetis, et his qui placuerunt Deo, non participasse salutem. Quoniam enim sciebant, inquit, Deum suum semper tentantem eos, et tunc tentare eum suspicati, non accurrerunt Jesu, neque crediderunt annuntiationi ejus. Et propterea remansisse animas eorum apud inferos dixit. *Iren. l. i. c. 27. [al. 29.] p. 106.*

SECT. 1. pected, that now a new temptation was laid in their way. Therefore they would not come to Jesus, nor believe in him. For which reason, as he says, their souls remained in hell.

So Irenæus. This passage of so early a writer will be of great use to us. But I need not observe his order in all things.

It will be proper for us, first to observe Marcion's time and history, and then his principles or opinions.

SECT. II. *Of the Time in which he lived.*

SECT. 2. **I**T is not easy to settle exactly Marcion's time. Cave supposeth, that (*b*) he came to Rome in the year 127; and about 130 became a follower of Cerdon, and an open heretic. Mill too, (*c*) who likewise follows Pearson, as to the early time of Hyginus, is of much the same opinion. Pagi (*d*) placeth the spreading of Marcion's heresy in the year 144. But he thinks, that this heresy, as is common in other cases, may be said to have had several beginnings, according to divers computations, Marcion, according to him, came to Rome soon after the death of Hyginus, which he says, cannot be deferred beyond the year 141. But he had before that broached his opinions in Syria, and probably had begun to do so in the reign of Adrian, or at least in the beginning of the reign of Antonine the Pious. Coming to Rome, presently after the death of Hyginus, when the see was vacant, and the Presbyters of that church not receiving him, he returned into Asia, and spread his principles with greater zeal and openness, about the year 144, where, as he says, Tertullian placeth Marcion.

(*b*) *Hist. Lit. in Marcion. T. i. p. 55.*

(*c*) *Proleg. n. 307.*

(*d*) *Crit. in Baron. 144. n. 3.*

Marcion. Petavius was very much of the same opinion, whose (*e*) words I place somewhat at length in the margin.

Let us now observe some particulars in the antients. Irenæus, who, as we have seen, says, that Cerdon was at Rome in the time of Hyginus, and makes Marcion his disciple or immediate successor, says likewise, in another place, that (*f*) Marcion acted chiefly under Anicetus, who was the tenth in the succession of the bishops of Rome.

Clement of Alexandria (*g*) speaks of Basilides, Valentin, and Marcion, as being all in the reign of Adrian, and the first, or elder Antonine, much about the same time, though this last was somewhat after the other two.

Tertullian speaks of Marcion as (*h*) the first, who had taught a different God, and superior to the Creator, and often mentions the time in which he lived, but never with exactness, as if he had any certain information about it. He

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once

(*e*) Postremum, atque omnium difficilimum est, quod de Marcione nobis [ex J. M. Apologia] objicitur. Quem, ut consentanea loquamur, affirmandum est non Antonino demum imperante, sed sub Adriano cœpisse. Atque haud scio an duo illius distinguenda sint tempora, ut in ple-
risque hæresibus accidit: ita ut sub Adriano primum eruperit, postea vero sub Antonino longe lateque propagatis erroribus celebre sibi nomen pepererit. . . . Hygini obitus confertur in annum Antonini xviii. ante quod tempus Marcionem hæresim suam disseminasse necesse est; cum Justinus, qui Antonino, et quidem imperii ejus initio, Apologiam obtulit, Marcionis meminerit. Quare duplex, uti conjiciebamus, Marcionitarum ortus esse debet. Nam primum in Ponto Asia duntaxat nefarium dogma prædicavit, idque Adriane imperante. Postea sub Antonino majores trahens spiritus

vehementius in eosdem errores cœpit incumbere. Hygino vero demum mortuo primitus dogma Cerdonis interpolasse Marcionem nullo modo censeo. *Petav. Animad. ad H. 46. Epiph. p. 83.*

(*f*) Marcion autem illi succedens invaluit sub Aniceto decimum locum episcopatus obtinente. *Iren. l. 3. c. 4. n. 3. 206.*

(*g*) *Strom. l. 7. p. 764. C. D.*

(*h*) Nemo alterum Deum ausus est suspicari. Facilius de Filio quam de Patre hæsitabatur: donec Marcion præter Creatorem alium Deum solius bonitatis induceret. *Præfer. Hæres. cap. 34. p. 344. B.*

Quum igitur sub Antonino primus Marcion hunc Deum induxerit, sicut probavimus. . . . atque ita non a Christo revelatum, quem constat a Marcione primum prædicatum. *Adv. Marcion. l. 1. c. 19. p. 443. A.*

SECT. 2. once speaks (*i*) of Marcion and Valentin, together, as both flourishing in the time of Antonine, and in the episcopate of Eleutherius. In another place he speaks of Marcion, as certainly being a heretic of Antonine's time, (*k*) but in what year his heresy arose, he was not solicitous to know.

Celsus, who might write about the year 150, mentioned the Marcionites, as we learn from Origen. (*l*)

But perhaps Justin Martyr's works may lead us nearer the time of Marcion, than any thing else. He wrote against Marcion. That work is mentioned by (*m*) Irenæus, as well as by (*n*) Eusebius. And it is reckoned (*o*) to be different from his work against all heresies, mentioned by himself in his (*p*) first apology: in which (*q*) he twice speaks of Marcion as still living. That apology was written in the time of the elder Antonine, in the year 140, or not long after. Consequently, it is reasonable to think, that Marcion had appeared in 130, or very soon after. For Marcion had many followers, when Justin wrote that apology. And when he says, that Marcion was still living; it is implied, that he had made a figure for some time.

(*i*) Ubi tunc Marcion, Ponticus naucleus, Stoicæ studiosus? Ubi Valentinus, Platonice Sectator? Nam constat illos, neque (alio) olim fuisse, Antonini fere principatu, et in Catholicæ primo doctrinam credidisse, apud Ecclesiam Romanensem, sub episcopatu Eleutherii benedicti. *De Pr. cap.* 30. *p.* 242. *A.*

(*k*) Quoto quidem anno Antonini majoris de Ponto suo exhalaverit aura canicularis, non curavi investigare. De quo tamen constat, Antonianus hæreticus est, sub Pio impius, &c. *Adv. Marcion*, l. 1. c. 19. *p.* 443. *A.*

(*l*) Εμνησθη δ' ο κελσος και μαρκιωνισων, προϊταμενων μαρκιωνα. *Contr. Cels.* l. 5. c. 62.

p. 676. *Bened.* 272. *lan.*

(*m*) Και καλως ιστινος εν τω προς μαρκιωνα συνταγματι φησιν. *Iren.* l. 4. c. 6. [*al.* 14.] *p.* 233.

(*n*) *Vid. Euseb.* l. 4. c. 11. *p.* 125. *B.* et c. 18. *p.* 141. *A.*

(*o*) Sed et contra Marcionem insignia volumina. . . et alius liber contra omnes hærefes. *Hier. de V. T.* c. 23.

(*p*) Ες δε ημων και συνταγμα κατα πασων των γεγεννημενων αιρεσεων. *Ap.* 1. *p.* 70. *C.*

(*q*) ος και νυν επι εστι διδασκων της πειθομενης. . . ος κατα παν γενος ανθρωπων. . . πολλας πεποιηκε ελασφημιας λεγειν. *Ap.* *p.* 70. *A.*

Και νυν διδασκει ω πολλοι πεισθεντες. *Ib.* *p.* 92. *A. Conf. Dial. cum Tryph.* *p.* 253. *D.*

SECT. III. *The History of him as given by Epiphanius.*

THE common account of Marcion, taken from Epiphanius, (*r*) is to this purpose. That he was born at Sinope, in Pontus, where his father was Bishop. For some while, as he says, Marcion lived a retired life, in strict continence. But having admitted an affection for a young woman, and having been guilty of uncleanness with her, he was excommunicated by his father: who would never after receive him, though Marcion earnestly entreated him, and made professions of sincere repentance. Being uneasy under the reproaches, which he met with in his own country, he went abroad, and arrived at Rome, soon after the death of Hyginus. Here he attempted to be received to communion, and moreover aimed to be made Bishop. But being disappointed in both those attempts, the Presbyters of that church rejecting him, he was exasperated. Whereupon he joined himself to Cerdon, who a little before had begun to spread his peculiar opinions in the city of Rome.

That Marcion was a native of Pontus, is allowed by all. So said Irenæus at the beginning of the long passage before transcribed from him. And in like manner many other ancient authors. He is called a sailor, or mariner, by Rhodon in (*f*) Eusebius, and very often by (*t*) Tertullian. But for

D d 2

what

(*r*) Τον δὲ πρῶτον αὐτὸν εἶναι παρθενίαν δόξαν ἡσκήει· μοναζῶν γὰρ ὑπῆρχε . . . ἐξέρχεται τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὑπο τῆς ἰδίας πατρὸς. . . Πολλὰ δὲ ἔθεν οὐ μαρκιῶν καθικετεύσας καὶ αἰτήσας μετανοοῖαν ἢ ἐλάττω παρὰ τῆς ἰδίας πατρὸς. . . καὶ ἀνείσιν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν αὐτὴν. . . ζῆλον λοιπὸν ἐπαρθεὶς, ὡς ἢ ἀπειλήσει τὴν προεδρίαν τε καὶ εἰσόδον τῆς

ἐκκλησίας. *H. 42. n. 1. p. 302. B. C. D.*

(*f*) καθὼς καὶ ὁ ναυτὸς μαρκιῶν. *Ap. Euseb. l. 5. c. 13. p. 177. B.*

(*t*) Ubi tunc Marcion, Ponticus naclerus, stoicæ studiosus. *De Pr. c. 30. p. 242. A.*

Scilicet

SECT. 3. what reason, is not (*u*) certain. Nor is it likely, that a bishop's son, and a learned man, as Marcion was, should ever have followed such an occupation. Perhaps those authors refer only to his country, as bordering upon the sea, or his native city a sea port.

SECT. IV. *The Story of his deceiving a young Woman held doubtful by many.*

SECT. 4. **T**HE story told by Epiphanius, of Marcion's deceiving a young woman, is also in the Appendix to Tertullian's Prescriptions. (*x*) But it may be called in question. I see, that (*y*) the learned and excellent Ittigius doubted of the truth of it.

I think, that there are in Epiphanius's account some particulars, that give the whole an appearance of improbability. For why should Marcion's father refuse to receive him into communion upon confession, and repentance, which seem to have been sincere, if indeed he had so fallen, as is said? And his future conduct appears to have been free from reproach. Moreover his attempt to be received at Rome, and even to obtain

Scilicet nauclero illi non quidem Rhodia lex, sed Pontica caverat. *Adv. M. l. 3. cap. 6. p. 480. C.*

Quamobrem, Pontice nauclere, si nunquam furtivas merces in acas tuas recepisti, &c. *Adv. M. l. 5. cap. 1. p. 515. D.*

(*u*) Nautam vocat Rhodon. . . nauclerum Tertullianus: an quod artem nauticam primitus exercuerit? an quod uterque ludens in voce Pontus, Marcionis patriæ nomine, quæ et Asiæ regionem, et Mare significat, illum nautam aut nauclerum vocet, quasi marinum hominem, in mari na-

tum. *Mass. Diff. Iren. p. 68.*

Je ne saurois regarder ce mot, que comme une raillerie fondé sur ce que Sinope étant ville maritime; elle étoit remplie des gens de mer. *Beaus. Hist. de Manich. T. 2. p. 70.*

(*x*) Marcion. . . episcopi filius, propter stuprum cujusdam virginis ab ecclesiæ communicatione abjectus. *De Pr. cap. 51. p. 253. D.*

(*y*) Et si ipse Tertullianus in prolixis quos contra Marcionem scripsit libris ejus rei nusquam meminerit. *Ittig. de Hær. p. 128.*

tain the bishoprick of the church, is inconsistent with the sup-
position of so shameful a fall, as that imputed to him by
Epiphanius. SECT. 4.

SECT. V. *Several Observations tending to shew
its incredibility.*

BEAUSOBRE (z) has a long argument upon this point, SECT. 5.
taken from the silence of ancient writers, and consist-
ing of many particulars. I shall abridge it.

1. Irenæus appears to have been totally unacquainted with
this affair. But is it possible, that he who had been at Rome,
should be ignorant of it, if true? or, if he had known it,
could he have avoided the mention of it? Moreover he writes
against a heretic, that condemned marriage, as a state not
sufficiently pure. How could he forget to say, that this same
person had been guilty of fornication, if he knew it?

2. Tertullian wrote five books against Marcion. He did
not neglect any occasion to decry his adversary. Neverthe-
less he says nothing of this scandalous adventure.

3. After having spoken of Marcion, Tertullian proceeds
to his disciple Apelles: who, he says, having (a) committed
a fault with a woman, and thus apostatized from the Mar-
cionite continence, did no more dare to shew himself before
his holy master, and therefore retired to Alexandria. The
same thing is mentioned (b) in the additions to Tertullian's
Prescriptions. We may take another opportunity to consider,
what

(z) *Hist. de Manich. T. 2. p. 77. &c.*

(a) Sed lapsus in feminam, desertor con-
tinentiæ Marcionensis, ab oculis sanctissimi
magistri Alexandriam secessit. *De Pr. c. 30.*
p. 242. B.

(b) Post hos subsequitur Apelles, disci-
pulus Marcionis, qui posteaquam in carnem
suam lapsus est, a Marcione separatus est.
Pr. cap. 51. p. 254. A.

SECT. 5. what the fault of Apelles was. But whether it were marriage, or adultery, or fornication, here was a fair occasion for Tertullian to mention a fault of Marcion, of the like kind, if he had known of any such thing. Tillemont, (*c*) enquiring into the author of the additions to Tertullian's book of Prescriptions, appears to have been very sensible of this difficulty.

4. The silence of the beforementioned writers, Irenæus and Tertullian, adds Beausobre, appears to me an invincible proof of Marcion's innocence: at least it is a proof of their unacquaintedness with that scandalous affair. Let us however shew, that neither was it known in the east: forasmuch as Clement of Alexandria and Origen say nothing of it, though they do not spare Marcion. Clement in particular fills up almost all his third book of Stromata in rehearsing and confuting the arguments of Marcion and other Encratites against marriage. If these men had not observed the rules of chastity: if Marcion, who is mentioned more than twenty times in that book, had transgressed these rules in a scandalous manner: and had been on that account excommunicated by his own father, is it conceivable, that St. Clement should say nothing of it? These proud men, says Clement, (*d*) boast of imitating our Saviour, who never married, and possessed nothing in this world. But they should know, that God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the humble. Here he should by all means have mentioned the fall of Marcion, and unques-

(*c*) Ce qu'il y a encore d'embarrassant, et à quoy je ne fai s'il est aisé de trouver aucune reponse raisonnée, c'est, que dans tout son grand ouvrage contre Marcion, fait après ce catalogue, s'il en est l'auteur, il ne luy reproche jamais une faute si grande

et si honteuse. Il n'estoit pas homme à lui épargner ce reproche. *Mem. Ec. T. 3. note vii. sur Tertullien.*

(*d*) Μιμνεσθαι δ' αὐτοὶ οἱ μεγαλυχροὶ φασὶ τοῦ κυρίου, μὴτε γήμαντα, μὴτε τι ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ κτήσανμενον· κ. λ. *Clem. Str. l. 3. p. 446. C.*

unquestionably would have done so, if he had known any thing of the matter.

5. Eusebius informs us of many authors, who had wrote against Marcion: Justin Martyr, Dionysius of Corinth, Theophilus of Antioch, Philip of Gortyna, Modestus, Melito and Apollinaris. He had read their writings. Nevertheless he makes no mention, of this scandalous action of our herefiarch. Which must be allowed to be a certain proof, that it was not taken notice of in those works.

6. Jerom says, (*e*) that Marcion sent before him to Rome a woman, to prepare the minds of people for his heresy. It is not known, whence he had that particular. But he does not say, that Marcion had seduced her, or any other woman: which would have been so much to his purpose, that it cannot be imagined, Jerom would have omitted it, if he had known any thing of it: since he omits not even conjectures, and the slightest reports, that tend to blacken the reputation of a heretic.

7. From the Greeks and Latins let us pass to the Syrians. St. Ephrem lived at Edefia, which was not very far from Sinope. There were many Marcionites in that country, which induced him to write against them. His hymns against divers heretics, particularly against Marcion, are still in being. As Marcion had misled many by his austerities, Ephrem endeavours to undeceive them. He says (*f*) that Marcion's apostles were wolves, but they had sheep's cloathing: and that the devil

(*e*) Marcion Romam præmisit mulierem, quæ decipiendos sibi animos præpararet. *Ad Ctesiph.* T. iv. p. 477. M.

(*f*) Ex hoc hymno discimus, Marcionem austerioris vitæ speciem affectasse, . . . abstinentiam et cælibatum simulasse, suisque symmictis indixisse. *Lupos Diabolus Aposto-*

lorum vice Marcioni dedit. Ut illos operiret, agnorum vestimenta furripuit. Et infra: Sacrum Marcioni accommodavit, ut filios lucis infusearet. Et paucis interjectis: Marcion anguem imitatus, jejunium amavit. Asseman. Bib. Or. T. i. p. 119.

SECT. 5. —devil put a cowl upon him, that he might deceive the children of light. And afterwards: Marcion imitated the serpent, and recommended fasting. How comes it about, that Ephrem does not here unmask the man, and shew his hypocrisy; that at his very first setting out he had shamefully fallen, and violated that virtue, which was the glory of his sect, and by which many people were imposed upon.

SECT. VI. *Some Reason to suspect it was the Invention of Epiphanius.*

SECT. 6. **B**UT what then shall we say to Epiphanius? One knows not well, what to say. But if he had any authority for it, it must have been flight. We may be apt to suspect, it was an invention of his own. Philaster and he seem to have drawn from the same source. They both say (g) that Marcion was of Sinope, and that he proposed to explain to the Presbyters of Rome, our Lord's parable concerning old bottles and old garments. I do not remember to have read these particulars in any authors more antient than these, who lived much about the same time: which makes me conjecture, that they copied one and the same original. Nevertheless the story of Marcion's fall is not in Philaster. Which shews, that he never knew it, and that it was not in the author whom he made use of. Which may lead persons, a little suspicious, to mistrust, that Epiphanius himself is the author of the story.

(g) Marcion, . . . genere Ponticus, de civitate Sinope, urbem Romam devenit, ibique degens sceleratam hæresim seminabat, atque interrogans presbyteros sanctos ecclesiæ catholicæ sensus sui eis errorem mortiferum propinabat, dicens ita: quid est quod in Evangelio, dicente Domino,

scriptum est: Nemo pannum rudem mittit in vestimentum vetus, neque vinum novum in uteres veteres . . . ? Et iterum: non est arbor bona, quæ faciat malum fructum, neque, arbor mala, quæ faciat bonum fructum, &c. *Philast. H. 45. p. 94. 95. Conf. Epiph. Her. 42. n. 2. p. 303.*

S E C T.

SECT. VII. *He began to propagate his Errors in his own Country, for which he was expelled by his Father.*

BEAUSOBRE therefore concludes from all these proofs, SECT. 7.
that the scandalous adventure of Marcion is at the most only a false report, which Epiphanius had met with; and that the crime of this heresiarch, for which his father expelled him from the church, was his errors, which he had begun to publish in his own country.

Beausobre is not the only person, who thinks, that Marcion had published his notions in his own country: though many of the antients reckon him a disciple of Cerdon, with whom he first became acquainted at Rome.

SECT. VIII. *His way of Life was very unsettled.*

MARCION came to Rome soon after the death of Hyginus, whilst that see was vacant. And not meeting with much encouragement there, in a short time he went again into Asia. But he must have returned to Rome, if it was there that Polycarp saw him. Marcion's unsettled and wandering course of life is reflected upon by Tertullian and S. SECT. 8. (b)

E e

Ephrem.

(b) Tradit S. Epiphanius, Marcionem, e patrio solo expulsum, Romam profugisse, atque subinde alia ex aliis loca mutasse. Quapropter eundem Caino comparat S. Ephraem. *Quoniam vero Marcion suum conditorem ejuraverat, mundum sibi ubique infestum habuit fremens. Quamobrem a Tertulliano Hamaxobio instabilior dictus est. Lib. i. cap. 1. Asseman. B. O. T. i. p. 119.*

SECT. 8. Ephrem. Marcion was once a catholic, as Tertullian often says, (i) and thence argues the novelty of his opinion.

SECT. IX. *He had a great Number of Followers.*

SECT. 9. **M**ARCION had many followers. Epiphanius says, that (k) he deceived multitudes of people, and that his heresy still subsisted in his time at Rome, in Italy, Egypt, Palestine, Arabia and Syria, in Cyprus, Thebais, Persia, and other places.

Justin intimates, that (l) he had perverted many of all ranks in divers places.

Tertullian having mentioned Apelles, Valentin, and Marcion, speaks (m) as if there were a greater number of the followers of these, than of the other heretics.

Theodoret converted (n) about a thousand Marcionites in his diocese. In his preface to his second book of Heretical Fables he says, (o) a few only remained scattered in divers cities of Syria, followers of Valentin, Marcion and Mani; which he thinks a reproach to the pastors of those times, who were not vigilant enough, to root out the small remains of these heresies.

Tertullian

(i) Te quidem plane non amasti, cum ab ecclesia et fide Christi recessisti. *De Carn. Xii. c. 4. p. 360. C.*

Sicut et ipse confiteris in quadam epistola: et tui non negant, et nostri probant. *Ib. cap. 2. p. 359. A.*

(k) *H. 42. n. 1.*

(l) Ος κατα παν γενος ανθρωπων . . . πολ-

λης πεποιηκε βλασφημιας λεγειν. κ. λ. *Ap. p. 70. A. Vid. Ib. p. 92. A.*

(m) Hos ut insigniores et frequentiores adulteros veritatis nominamus. *De Praef. cap. 30. p. 242. C.*

(n) *Ep. 113. tom. 3. p. 986. D.*

(o) *H. F. Lib. 2. tom. 4. p. 218. C.*

Tertullian speaks (*p*) of the deserters of Marcion, that is SECT. 9.
those who still followed him in divers points, but differed from
their master in some others.

Rhodon, of whom we spake formerly, (*q*) as flourishing
about the year 190, says, (*r*) that in his time, the Marcionites
were divided into several parties, the leaders of whom he
makes to be Apelles, Potitus, Basilicus, and Syneros.

The great number of books published against him in the
second century, and afterwards, shews the prevalence of this
doctrine. In enumerating the works of my authors, as I have
gone along, doubtless the reader has observed this. And in
the table at the end of the second volume of my former work,
are (*s*) references to divers of those writings.

Irenæus (*t*) (whose words are likewise cited by (*u*) Eusebe,)
says, that Polycarp, when he came to Rome, in the time of
Anicetus, converted many followers of Valentin and Marcion :
which is also taken notice of by Jerom (*x*) in his article of
Polycarp. Which seems to shew, that though Marcion met
with no encouragement from the Presbyters of Rome, as
Epiphanius says, yet he made converts there of other people.

His followers are supposed to have had him in great vene-
ration. But then, when blamed for calling themselves Mar-
cionites, after their leader; they answered, that others called
themselves Catholics, (*y*) though that name was not given to

E e 2

Christians

(*p*) Nam et Philumene illa magis per-
suasit Apelli cæterisque desertoribus Mar-
cionis. *Con. Mar. Lib. 3. cap. 11. p. 486.*
A.

(*q*) *Cred. P. 2. vol. 2. c. 28. ar. xiv.*

(*r*) *Apud Euf. Hist. Eccles. Lib. 5. cap.*
13. p. 177. B. C.

(*s*) See there Marcion. *Cred. P. 2.*
vol. 2.

(*t*) *Iren. l. 3. c. 3. n. 4. p. 177. 203-4.*

(*u*) *H. E. l. 4. c. 14. p. 128. Æ.*

(*x*) Hic sub imperatore Antonino Pio,
ecclesiam in Urbe regente Aniceto, Romam
venit, ubi plurimos credentium, Marcionis
et Valentini persuasione deceptos, reduxit
ad fidem. *De V. I. cap. 17.*

(*y*) Οὐ γὰρ χριστιανὸς ὀνομαζέται, ἀλλὰ μαρ-
κωνιτιστής. . . . Καὶ ὑμεῖς τῆς καθολικῆς λεγέσθε :
ὅτι ἐπεὶ οὐν χριστιανοὶ, ὅτε ὑμεῖς. *Dialog. contr.*
Marcionit. p. 12.

SECT. 9. Christians in scripture. And when asked, (*z*) whom they most respected; Paul, or Marcion; they answered: Paul was an apostle, Marcion their bishop only.

SECT. X. *Of his Opinions, and the Number of Principles which he held.*

SECT. 10. **T**HIS may suffice for Marcion's time and history. We proceed to his opinions.

Theodoret says, that (*a*) Marcion held four principles, or unbegotten substances, as his expression is; one the good God, and unknown, whom he also calls the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ: and the Creator called by him just, and sometimes evil: and beside these Matter, and the evil one that governs it. But if ever the Marcionites called the Devil God, I suppose it was only figuratively, and in conformity to scripture: where he is sometimes called the God of this world, and is said to rule in the children of disobedience.

Some ascribe to Marcion and his followers the doctrine of three principles. So (*b*) Epiphanius, and (*c*) Cyril of Jerusalem. But Augustin says, that (*d*) Marcion held two principles;

(*z*) Τις μείζων ην, μαρκιων η παυλος; Παυλος. . . . Μαρκιων επισκοπος μν ην. *Ibid.* p. 13.

(*a*) Τετταρας γαρ αγεννητης θσιας τω λογω διεπλασε. Και τον μεν εκαλεσεν αγαθον τε και αγνωστον, ον και πατερα προσηγχευσε τη κυριη· τον δε δημιουργον τε και δικαιον, ον και ποτηρον ονομαζε· και προς τητοις την υλην κακην τε θσαν, και υπ' αλλω κακω τελεσαν. *H. Fab.* L. i. c. 24. p. 210. A. B.

(*b*) λεγων τρεις ειναι αρχας, μιαν μεν την ανω ακατονομαστον και αορατον· ην και αγαθον θεον ομιλεται λεγειν, μηδεν δε εν τω κοσμω κτισασαν· αλλον δε ειναι ορατον θεον, και κτισην και δημιουργον·

τον δε κτισην και δημιουργον, και ορατον θεον ειναι ιουδαιων, ειναι δε αυτον κριτη· *H. 42. n. 3. p. 304. A.*

(*c*) Ο πρωτος τρεις θεας ειπων. *Cyr. Cat.* 16. c. 7. p. 246. *Vid. et Ib.* c. 4. p. 244. *D. Cat.* 6. c. 16. p. 97. A. *Ed. Bened.*

(*d*) Marcion quoque, a quo Marcionite appellati sunt, Cerdonis secutus est dogmata de duobus principiis: quamvis Epiphanius cum tria dicat asseruisse principia, bonum, justum, pravum. Sed Eusebius [*L. v. c. 13.*] Sinerum quemdam, non Marcionem, trium principiorum atque naturarum scribit auctorem. *De Hær. c. 22. Tom. 6. Venet.*

ciples; and maintains, that to be the true account, against Sect. 10. such as spoke of his holding three principles. And in like manner that ancient writer (e) Rhodon, who wrote against Marcion: and (f) the dialogue ascribed to Origen. Tertulian often says, that (g) Marcion believed two Gods, though not both equal. (h)

It is likely, that according to different ways of speaking, men may be said to believe in more or fewer principles. But I apprehend that Marcion believed in only two eternals: the supreme God the Father, who was Good, and Matter. For according to him, the Creator was from the Father, and the Devil some how or other sprang out of Matter. That he thought Matter eternal is unquestionable. (i) It was the opinion of the antient heathen philosophers, and of the heretics that followed them.

In the dialogue which is ascribed to Origen, (k) the word principle seems to be used, both by Adamantius the Orthodox disputant, and by Megethius the Marcionite, as equivalent to Lord and Governor.

In answer therefore to the question of Adamantius, over whom the three principles are governours, Megethius answers.

That

(e) Ετεροι δὲ καθὼς καὶ αὐτὸς μαρκιῶν δύο ἀρχὰς εἰσηγούνται. *Ap. Euf. l. 5. c. 13. p. 177. B.*

(f) Εγὼ ορίζομαι, ὅτι τρεῖς ἀρχὰς εἶναι, ἀλλὰ δύο. *Dial. p. 43. inf.*

(g) Duos Ponticus deos adfert: . . . quem negare non potuit, id est, creatorem, id est, nostrum: et quem probare non poterit, id est, suum. *Adv. Marcion. l. 1. c. 2. p. 431. B.*

(h) Sic adhuc videmur disputare quasi duos pares constituat. . . . Alioquin certi Marcionem dispares Deos constituere: alterum judicem ferum bellipotentem: alte-

rum mitem placidum et tantummodo bonum atque optimum. *Adver. Mar. l. 1. c. 6. p. 433, 434.*

(i) Et materiam ei subjicit utique innatam et infectam et hoc nomine æternam. *Adv. Mar. Lib. 1. cap. 15. p. 441. A.*

(k) ΑΔ: Ἀρχὴ γὰρ μοι δοκεῖ λεγέσθαι, διὰ τὸ ἀρχεῖν τινος· ὡς περὶ καὶ κυρίως λεγεται, διὰ τὸ κυριεύειν τινων. τινος τοιούτων ἀρχήσιν αἱ τρεῖς ἀρχαί; ἀποκρίνηται. ΜΕΓ. Ἡ ἀγαθὴ ἀρχὴ τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἀρχεῖ· ἡ δὲ διμμετρικὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων· ἡ δὲ παντὶ τῶν ἔθνικων. *Dial. Contr. Marci. sec. 1. p. 4. Basil. 1674.*

SECT. 10. That the good principle governs the Christians: the creating principle the Jews, and the evil principle the Heathens. But in the sense of unbegotten, all-sufficient and independant, Marcion could hold but two, as is asserted before.

SECT. XI. *His notion of the Creator, and the World formed by him: and the God superior to him.*

SECT. 11. IRENÆUS at the beginning of the long passage before transcribed, says, that Marcion blasphemed the Creator, and said that Jesus came from the Father, who is superior to the God that made the world. In another place he says, the (l) Marcionites have two Gods very different from each other, one much better than the other. In another place, that (m) they divide the deity into two, one good, the other severe.

Justin in like manner says, that (n) Marcion taught men to believe in another God, superiour to the Creator, and who was the supreme God the Father. He was (o) according to them invisible, inaccessible, and perfectly good.

The

(l) Et quidem hi qui a Marcione sunt statim blasphemant fabricatorem, dicentes eum malorum factorem: . . . duos naturaliter dicentes Deos, distantes ab invicem, alterum quidem bonum, alterum malum. *Iren. l. 3. c. 12. n. 12. p. 198.*

Duos Deos infinita distantia separatos ab invicem. *Lib. 4. c. 33. n. ii. p. 270.*

(m) Marcion igitur ipse dividens Deum in duo, alterum quidem bonum, et alterum judiciale dicens, ex utrisque interimit Deum. *Id. l. 3. c. 25. n. iii. p. 224.*

(n) αλλον τινα νομιζειν μειζονα τε δημιουργον

θεον. *Ap. C. p. 70. A. Vid. et p. 92. A.*

(o) Igitur quæcunque exigitis Deo digna, habebuntur in patre invisibili, incongressibili, et placido, et (ut ita dixerim) philosophorum Deo. *Adv. M. l. 2. c. 27. p. 475. A.*

Sic adhuc videmur disputare, quasi duos Marcion pares constituat: . . . alioquin certi Marcionem dispare Deos constituere: alterum judicem, ferum, bellipotentem: alterum mitem, placidum et tantummodo bonum atque optimum, &c. *Adv. M. l. 1. c. 6. p. 434. A. B.*

The Creator, the God of the Jews, according to Marcion and his followers (*p*) made this lower and visible world. The supreme God, the Father, had also a world of his making, but better than this, immaterial, and invisible. Justin says, that (*q*) according to Marcion the supreme Deity had made greater and better things than the Creator of this visible world. To the like purpose Tertullian, whose words I place at the bottom of the page. (*r*) So also (*s*) Jerom.

Some ancient writers say, that the Marcionites held two Gods, one good, the other evil. But as at other times they represent them, as calling one good, the other a judge or severe. This must be their meaning.

On this account it may be proper to observe passages of several ancient authors relating to this matter.

Jerom says that (*t*) Marcion taught Jesus to be son of the good God, that is, not of the same God spoken of in the prophets,

(*p*) Certe Deum confiteris Creatorem? Certe inquis, &c. *Adv. Mar. l. 2. c. 16. p. 466. B.*

Creatorem autem et Marcion, Deum non negat. *Ib. l. 5. c. 7. p. 588. D.*

(*q*) Άλλος δε τινα, ως οντα μειζονα, τα μειζονα παρα τωτον ομολογειν πεποινηται. *p. 70. B.*

(*r*) Quum dixeris esse et illi conditionem suam, et suum mundum, et suum coelum. Jam nunc de loco quaestio est, pertinens et ad mundum illum superiorem, et ad ipsum Deum ejus. Ecce enim, si et ille habet mundum suum infra se, supra Creatorem, in loco utique fecit eum. *Adv. Marc. l. 1. c. 15. p. 440. B. C.*

Non comparente igitur mundo alio, sicut nec Deo ejus, consequens est, at duas species rerum, visibilia et invisibilia, duobus auctoribus Deis dividant, et ita suo Deo invisibilia defendant. *Id. Ibid. c. 16. p. 441. B.*

(*s*) Si de Marcionis arguereris haeresi, quæ alterum bonum, alterum justum Deum inferens: illum invisibilem, hunc visibilem asserit Creatorem. *Ad. Pammach. Cap. 38. al. 61. p. 315. f.*

(*t*) Denique Marcion haereticus boni Dei Filium, hoc est, alterius, putat esse Christum, et non justum, cujus prophetae sunt: quem sanguinarium, crudelem, et judicem vocat. *Com. in Is. cap. 8. p. 68. ad fin.*

Confundetur Marcion, duos deos intelligens, unum bonum et alium justum, alterum invisibilem, alterum visibilem conditorem. *In. Is. cap. 44. p. 334. B. Vid. eude in Ezech. cap. 9. p. 751. in. et fin.*

An ignoramus, Marcionem, et ceteros haereticos, qui vetus laniant Testamentum, contempto Creatore, id est, justo Deo, alium quemdam bonum Deum colere et adorare, quem de suo corde finxerunt. *In Ezech. cap. 9. p. 751. in.*

SECT. II. phets, who, they say, is there represented as cruel, righteous, just, a judge, and the like.

To the same purpose also Clement of Alexandria, who, I apprehend may be relied upon. The (*u*) Marcionites say, that nature, or the world, is evil, because it is made of matter, which is evil in itself: and that the world was made by the Creator who is just. They therefore are spoken of as having but low thoughts of this world on account of its being very imperfect, and not worthy of the supreme Deity: and yet, as Tertullian (*x*) says, they respected the Creator.

SECT. XII. *The Marcionite Idea of the difference between good and just.*

SECT. 12. **T**HE account given by Origen, of the sentiments of those who held a different God from the Creator, is similar to the above representation. He says, (*y*) this last was just, the God above him good. And Jerom himself says the same in the place just quoted.

But what is the difference between good and just. Beaufobre (*z*) gives this account of it. Bardesanes dividing men into

(*u*) Οι απο μαρκιωνος φυσιν κακην, εκ τε της υλης κακης και εκ δικαιο γενομενην δημιουργον. *Str. l. 3. p. 431. B.*

(*x*) Narem contrahentes impudentissimi Marcionitæ convertuntur ad destructionem operum Creatoris: nimirum, inquit, grande opus et dignum Deo mundus. Nunquid ergo Creator minime Deus? Plane Deus. *Ad. M. l. 1. c. 13. p. 438. D.*

At quum et animalia irrides minutiora, quæ maximus artifex de industria ingeniis aut viribus ampliavit. . . imitare, si potes, apis ædificia, formicæ stabula, aranæ re-

tia, bombycis stamina.—Postremo, te tibi circumfer, intus ac foris considera hominem. Placebit tibi vel hoc opus Dei nostri, quod tuus dominus ille Deus melior adamavit. *Ibid. cap. 14. p. 439. D.*

(*y*) Οι δε ετερον θεον φασκοντες παρα του δημιουργου, δικαιον μεν αυτον ειναι θεον, και κα αγαθον. *Orig. in Ex. p. 17. 18. Huet. T. 2. p. 112. A. Bened.*

Της δε απο των χεισεων. . . δικαιον μεν ειναι τον δημιουργον, αγαθον δε τον τε χειστη πατερα. *Id. in Joh. p. 38. A. B. Huet.*

(*z*) *Hist. de Manich. T. 2. p. 91.*

into three sorts, says: (*a*) some are like scorpions and adders who hurt unprovoked: others do evil to those only who do evil to them. They are satisfied with revenging the injuries they receive. Others, finally are mild, and gentle, as lambs; and render not evil for evil. The first (*b*) are called wicked, the second just, the last good. According to these definitions, the good God is he who never does evil to any. The just is he who treateth men according to their deserts; he punisheth the guilty. The evil one is he who does evil, even to the innocent.

SECT. XIII. *The good God was the Maker of Beings spiritual and invisible.*

GOD the Father, according to Marcion, was the maker of beings spiritual, invisible, and happy, as is allowed. And yet Tertullian (*c*) frequently represents Marcion's Deity as idle, indolent, happy in his ease and tranquillity, and the like.

Possibly one reason of this is, that (*d*) Marcion's God was good only, never offended with, or punished evil doers.

F f

But

(*a*) *Ap. Euseb. Præ. Ev. l. 6. c. 10. p. 274.*

(*b*) Οἱ μὲν λέγονται ἀγαθοὶ οἱ δὲ κακοὶ, οἱ δὲ δίκαιοι. *Ibid.*

(*c*) Inde Marcionis Deus melior de tranquillitate. A Stoicis venerat. *De Pr. cap. 7. p. 232. D.*

Si aliquem de Epicuri schola Deum adfectavit Christi nomine titolare, ut quod beatum et incorruptibile sit, neque sibi, neque alii molestias præstet, (hanc enim sententiam ruminans Marcion, removit ab illo severitatem, et judiciarias vires) aut in totum immobilem et stupentem Deum

concepisse debuerat. *Ad. Mar. Lib. 1. cap. 25. p. 449. A.*

(*d*) In ipso præconio solitariae bonitatis, qua nolunt ii adscribere ejusmodi motus animi, quos in Creatore reprehendunt; si enim neque æmulatur, neque irascitur, neque damnat, neque vexat, ut pote qui nec judicem præstat. *Ibid. l. 1. c. 26. p. 449. D.*

— Donec Marcion præter Creatorem alium Deum, folius bonitatis induceret. *De Præscr. c. 34. p. 244. B.*

Deus autem Marcionis et quia ignotus non potuit offendi quia nescit irasci. *Ad. Marci. l. 5. c. 5. p. 584. A.*

But besides this, there appear to be other reasons of this charge. For Tertullian argues, that (*e*) none of his works were visible or known. And therefore there was no reason to believe in him, as it did not appear, that he had made any thing. Moreover, though he saw the disorders of this world of the Creator, he did not interpose, nor take any step to amend things, till at last, (*f*) after a long space of time, he sent his son. But except this, (*g*) he never did any kind of good, which men were ever sensible of, or by which, he might

(*e*) Unam saltem cicerculam Deus Marcionis propriam protulisse deluerat. . . . Aut exhibe rationem Deo dignam, cur nihil condiderit. *Adv. M. l. 1 c. 11. p. 437. D.*

Hoc ipso nemo debeat credere Deum et illum qui nihil condidit, nisi ratio forte proferatur. *Ib. p. 438. A.*

Nam et quale est, ut Creator quidem ignorans esse alium super se Deum, ut volunt Marcionitæ, . . . tantis operibus notitiam sui armaverit. Ille autem sublimior, sciens inferiorem Deum tam instructum, nullam sibi prospexerit agnoscendo paraturam: quando etiam insigniora et superbiora opera debuisset condidisse, ut Deus cognosceretur secundum Creatorem: et ex honestioribus potior et generosior Creatore. *Ibid. p. 438. B.*

Non comparente igitur mundo alio, sicut nec Deus ejus—Quis autem poterit inducere in animum, nisi spiritus hæreticus, ejus esse invisibilia, qui nihil visibile præmiserit: quam ejus qui visibilia operatus, invisibilium quoque fidem fecerit: quum justius multo sit aliquibus exemplariis adnuere, quam nullis. *L. 1. c. 16. p. 444. A.*

(*f*) His compressi erumpunt dicere, sufficit unicum hoc opus Deo nostro, quod hominem liberavit summa et præcipua bonitate sua. *Ad. Mar. Lib. 1. c. 17. p. 441. D.*

Exhibe perfectam quoque bonitatem ejus, non enim omnes salvi fiunt, sed pauciores omnibus et Judæis, et Christianis Creatoris. Pluribus vero pereuntibus quomodo perfecta defenditur bonitas? Sed malitia perfectior.—Sed nolo jam de parte majore pereuntium. Imperfectum bonitatis arguere Deum Marcionis, sufficit ipsos quos salvos facit, imperfectæ salutis inventos. *Ibid. Lib. 1. c. 24. p. 447, 448. Confer Lib. 1. c. 25. p. 449. A. Lib. 4. c. 25. p. 542. B. 543. A. Lib. 5. c. 4. p. 581. B. et Lib. 5. c. 16. p. 601. A.*

(*g*) Sed quis iste suavis, qui ne cognitus quidem usque adhuc? quomodo suavis, a quo nulla beneficia processerant. *Adv. M. l. 4. c. 17. p. 528. B.*

Sed et cur apud Dominum optimum, et profusæ misericordiæ, alii salutem referunt, credentes crucem, virtutem et sapientiam Dei: alii perditionem quibus Christi crux stultitia reputatur. *Ibid. l. 5. c. 5. p. 584. B.*

Jam nunc de loco quæstio est, pertinens et ad mundum illum superiorem, et ad ipsum Deum ejus. Ecce enim, si et ille habet mundum suum infra se, supra Creatorem, in loco utique fecit eum. *L. 1. cap. 15. p. 440. C.*

might be known to be, what they called him, a God made up entirely of goodness and benevolence. In short, he there shows, that there was no proof of any Deity, different from, or superior to the Creator of the visible world. SECT. 13.

SECT. XIV. *The Marcionites erroneous in dividing the Deity.*

IN dividing the Deity, Marcion and his followers were undoubtedly in the wrong. They seem however to have gone into this opinion, out of respect to his attributes. For they thought, if a good God had made the world, there would have been neither sin, nor misery, but all men would have been both holy and happy. Their reasonings upon this point are given us by Tertullian, (*b*) as also some other arguments, (*i*) SECT. 14.

F f 2

which

(*b*) Si Deus bonus, et præscius futuri, et avertendi mali potens, cur hominem—passus est labi de obsequio legis in mortem, circumventus a diabolo. Si enim et bonus, qui evenire tale quid nolle, et præscius, qui eventurum non ignoraret: et potens qui depellere valeret, nullo modo evenisset quod sub his tribus conditionibus divinæ majestatis evenire non posset. *Adv. Marci. Lib. 21. cap. 5. p. 456. C.*

Languens enim circa mali quæstionem: unde malum? et obtusis sensibus ipsa enormitate curiositatis, inveniens Creatorem pronuntiantem, Ego sum qui condo mala—et ita in Christo quasi aliam inveniens dispositionem, solius et puræ benignitatis ut diversæ a Creatore, facile novam et hospitam argumentatus est divinitatem in Christo suo revelatam, modicoque exinde fermento totam fidei massam hæretico acore decepit. Quo facilius duos Deos cæci perspexisse se existimaverunt. Unum enim non integre viderant. Alterum igitur Deum quem confiteri cgebatur, de malo infamando destruxit. Alterum quem commentari con-

tebatur de præferendo construxit. *Ibid. Lib. 1. c. 2. p. 431. B. C.*

(*i*) Magnum argumentum Dei alterius permissio obsoniorum adversus legem, quasi non et ipsi confiteamur legis onera dimissa; sed ab eo qui imposuit, qui novationem repromisit. *Ibid. L. 5. c. 7. p. 589. D.*

Olim duplicem vim Creatoris vindicavimus, et judicis et boni, litera occidentis per legem, spiritu vivificantis per evangelium. Non possunt duos Deos facere, quæ etsi diversa apud unum recenseri pervenerunt. Si igitur ut claritatem majorem defenderet (Apostolus) novi Testamenti quod manet in gloria, quam veteris, quod evacuari habebat, hoc et meæ convenit fidei præponenti evangelium legi et vide ne magis meæ. *Ibid. Lib. 5. c. 11. p. 591. A. B.*

An ignoramus Marcionem et cæteros hæreticos qui vetus laniant Testamentum contempto Creatore ie justo Deo, alium quemdam bonum Deum colere et adorare, quem de suo corde finxerunt. *Hieron. in Ezek. c. 9. p. 751. In.*

Blasphemare vel Testamenti veteris Deum, irridere et contemnere. *Ibid. fin.*

which they brought from the law, and other parts of the Old Testament, to prove the being from whom that was derived, different from the supreme or good God.

The Marcionites (*k*) in the dialogue ascribed to Origen, frequently use the same sort of reasonings, taken from some actions of inspired men, and from some commands under the law, which they considered, opposite to the conduct and commands of Christ, and his apostles, under the gospel.

With respect to that argument which they drew from the goodness of God, to prove that he could not be the Creator of this world, it only removed the difficulty one step further back. As Beausobre therefore justly observes, (*l*) the system of these men was liable to as great objections as that of the Catholics. For the same perfections which rendered it unlikely, that the supreme being should make such a world as ours, would also have obliged him, to hinder (*m*) the Creator from making it; or would have led him to have directed him, in his works of creation, and to have over-ruled him so, as to prevent the bad effects, which his operations might have otherwise produced.

(*k*) Δεικνυν, οτι ο Δημιουργος αλλα εννομοθετησε, και ο Χριστος αλλα εναντια ταυτη. *Dial. Con. Marc. Sec. 1. p. 14.*

Οτι ο Χριστος ανετρεψε τα τε δημιουργα, και δεικνυναι οτι ανετρεψεν. κ. τ. λ. *Ibid. p. 16, 17.*

Ο Προφητης τε Θεω της γενεσεως, πολεμω συφαντος προς τον λαον, αναβας επι την κορυφην τε ορθος εξετεινε τας χειρας αυτη προς τον Θεον ινα πολλας τω πολεμω ανελη. Ο δε Κυριος ημων αγιος ων, εξετεινε τας χειρας αυτη ηχι τα ανελειν της ανθρωπης αλλα τα σωσαι. Τι εν

ομοιον, ο μιν δια της εκτασεως των χειρων αναγει, ο δε σωζει. *Ibid. p. 19.*

Ο εν τω νομω Κυριος λεγει, Αγαπησεις τον αγαπωντα σε, και μισησεις τον εχθρον σου. Ο δε Κυριος ημων αγαθος ων λεγει, Αγαπατε της εχθρας υμων, και ευχεσθε υπερ των διωκοτων υμας. *Ibid. p. 20. Vid. etiam. p. 21, 23, 24, 25, &c.*

(*l*) *Histoire de Mani. tom. 2. p. 93. ik.*

(*m*) MET. Η τε αγαθε (αρχη) εσχυρατερη. *Dia. Con. Mar. sec. 1. p. 6. απαξ δε ισχυροτερος αυτων εστιν. Ibid.*

SECT. XV. *They were believers in a future Judgment, and in the Necessity of Human Actions.*

THOUGH in some instances, according to several passages already quoted from Tertullian and others, they seem to blame justice, calling it by the name of severity, (n) and representing it as inconsistent with the character of goodness in God; and for that reason feigning to themselves another God, (o) different from the Creator, a God of un-mixed goodness; yet they (p) allowed, that there would be a future judgment. But then the Creator (q) was to be the judge,

SECT. 15.

(n) Quanta itaque perversitas vestra erga utrumque ordinem creatoris? Judicem eum designatis, et severitatem judicis secundum merita causarum congruentem pro sævitia exprobat. Deum Optimum exigitis, et lenitatem ejus benignitati congruentem pro captu mediocritatis humanæ dejectius conversatam ut pusillitatem deprecia- tis. Nec magnus vobis placet, nec modicus, nec judex, nec amicus. *Adv. Mar. Lib. 2. cap. 27. p. 475. A. B.*

(o) Qui idcirco alium Deum somnia- sti solummodo bonum quia non potes judicem: quanquam et illum ut judicem ostendimus. Aut si non judicem, certe perversum ac vanum disciplinæ non vindicandæ id est non judicandæ constitutorem. Non repro- bas autem Deum judicem, qui non judicem Deum probas?—Porro quum cogeris in- justitiam de pessimis pronuntiare, eodem jugo urgeris justitiam de optimis censere. Igitur quanto malum injustitia tanto bonum justitia. *Ibid. Lib. 2. c. 11. p. 462. D. 3. A.*

(p) Videte quomodo audiat. Non auditur minabatur. Si a Deo Marcionis dabitur et ab eo auferetur. *Ibid. Lib. 4.*

cap. 19. p. 531. D.

Ergo jam times delictum, et timendo probasti, illum timeri, qui prohibet de- lictum. *Ibid. Lib. 1. cap. 27.*

ΑΔ: Κριτη; εστι δικαιος ο Θεος, η υ; ΜΑΡ. Κριτης δικαιος ο Θεος εστι. ΑΔ: Τινα κριται. ΜΑΡ. κριται τον διαβολον και της αγγελιας αυτου, και ανθρωπων, της προσφευγοντας αυτω. *Dial. Con. Ma. sec. 3. p. 81. Bas. 1674.*

(q) Quoquo tamen nomine comminatur ablationem, non erit ejus Dei qui nescit comminari, quia non novit irasci. *Ibid. Lib. 4. c. 19. p. 531. D.*

Multo adhuc vanius cum interrogati quid fiet peccatori cuique Dei illorum respondent abjici illum quasi ab oculis. Nonne et hoc judicio agitur? Judicatur enim abjiciendus et utique judicio damnationis. Et quid erit abjici nisi amittere id quod erat consecu- turus si non abjiceretur, id est salutem.—Exitus autem illi abjecto quis? Ab igne in- quiunt Creatoris deprehendetur. *Ibid. Lib. 10, 27, 28.*

Τον δε κτιστην και δημιουργον και ορατον Θεον ειναι των Ιουδαιων, ειναι δε αυτον κριτην. *Ερ. Hær. 42. p. 304. A.*

SECT. 15. judge, whose justice they represented to be so strict, as (r) to approach near to severity.

From a passage in Tertullian, (s) and also from the manner in which the dispute is carried on with the Marcionite, in the dialogue before (t) referred to, it seems to appear, that they did not allow the freedom of human actions, but were believers in a kind of necessity.

SECT. XVI. *They thought the Souls, but not the Bodies of the Virtuous would be happy in a future State.*

SECT. 16. **T**HEY thought that the virtuous would be put in possession of eternal happiness, (u) after their departure out of this world, and that the place of their enjoyment would be, where the presence of the good God (x) was, and where Christ their Saviour should also reside: but they did not allow, that the body (y) would be a partaker in this happiness, or at least

(r) Quem sanguinarium crudelem et judicem vocant. *Hieron. in Esai. c. 7. p. 68.*

Alterum judicem Fenim bellipotentem. *Ad. M. Lib. 1. c. 6.*

(s) Inesse autem nobis το αυτεξουσιον naturaliter jam et Marcioni ostendimus et Hermogeni. *De Anima. c. 21. p. 324. C.*

(t) Μαρι: Αυτεξουσιος εις και ο διαβολος κατὰ σε. Το δε αυτεξουσιον και αυτοφους και αυτογενητον. Αυτεξουσιον φης και τον διαβολον και τον ανθρωπον. κ. τ. λ. *Dia. Adv. Mar. sec. 3. p. 79. 83.*

(u) Immo inquis spero ab illo (quod et ipsum faciat ad testimonium diversitatis) regnum Dei æternæ et cœlestis possessionis. *Ad. Mar. Lib. 3. c. 24. p. 499. A*

(x) Sed Marcion aliorum cogit scilicet utramque mercedem creatoris sive tormenti

sive refrigerii apud inferos determinat eis positam qui legi et prophetis obedierint. Christi vero et Dei sui cœlestem definit finem et portum. Eam itaque regionem finem dico Abrahæ etsi non cœlestem sublimiorem tamen inferis, interim refrigerium præbituram animabus justorum donec consummatio rerum resurrectionem omnium plenitudine mercedis expugnat, tunc apparitura cœlesti promissione quam Marcioni suo vindicat, quasi non a creatore vindicatam. Ad quam ascensum suum Christus ædificat in cœlum utique suis ubi est et loco æternus. *Ibid. L. 4. c. 34. p. 559. C. D.*

(y) Si plena est gratia et solida misericordia quæ soli animæ salutaris est plus præstat hæc vita qua toti et integri fruimur. Ceterum

least they denied the resurrection (x) of the same body; for which reason, Tertullian (a) impeaches this perfectly benevolent God of the Marcionites, as deficient in goodness, not only for not saving all men, but likewise for conferring happiness on but one part of the nature of those, whom he did save: and often (b) blames them, for imposing such heavy burdens on the body, without affording it any hopes of recompence in the resurrection. SECT. 16.

SECT. XVII. *The Belief of a Transmigration ascribed to them by Epiphanius.*

IF Epiphanius (c) gives us a true account of the opinions of Marcion, he taught the transmigration of souls from one body to another. This opinion of his, is taken little or no notice of, by any other writer. On the contrary there is a SECT. 17.
passage

Ceterum ex parte resurgere multari erit non-liberari. *Ib. L. 1. c. 24. p. 448.*

Si caro negatur nec de resurrectione constabit. Ita resurrectione Christi non consistente aufertur et mortuorum resurrectio. *Ib. L. 3. c. 8.*

Marcion enim in totum carnis resurrectionem non admittens et soli animæ salutem repromittens. *Ib. L. 5. c. 10. p. 504. B. C.*

Nemo carnem suam odio habet, nisi plane Marcion solus.—At tu solus eam odisti auferens illi resurrectionem. *Ib. L. 5. c. 18. p. 610. B. C.*

Τὴν τῆς Σαρκὸς ἀδίδεις ἀναστάν. *Ep. Hær. 42. p. 304. B.*

(x) MAP. ὃ τὸ το σῶμα λέγει ἀνίστασθαι, ἀλλὰ ἕτερον ἀπὸ τοῦ λέγειν ὃ δὲ Θεὸς δίδωσιν αὐτῷ σῶμα καθὼς ἡθέλησεν. — ἀλλὰ ὅρας, ὅτι λέγει ὃ τὸ γινώσκον σῶμα σπείρεις ἀλλὰ γυμνὸν κοκκὸν σπείνεις. *Dia. Con, Mar. sec. 5. p. 143. Ba. 1674.*

(a) Sufficit ipsos quos salvos facit imperfectæ salutis inventos imperfectam bonitatem ejus ostendere. Scilicet anima tenus salvos carne deperditos quæ apud illum non resurgit. Quid enim tam perfectæ bonitatis quam totum hominem redigere in salutem? *Ad. Mar. L. 1. c. 24. p. 448.*

(b) Et in hoc totum salutis sacramentum carnem mergit exortem salutis. Proinde cum tantam sive farcinam sive gloriæ infirmissimæ aut indignissimæ carni imponit sanctitatem—quid non salute remunerat—quam onerat vel exornat? quid fraudat mercede operis, non rependens carni salutem? quid et honorem sanctitatis in illa mori patitur? *Ibid. L. 1. c. 28. p. 451. D.*

(c) Καὶ μεταγγισμός ομοίως τῶν ψυχῶν καὶ μετενσωματώσεις ἀπὸ σωμάτων εἰς σώματα φασκεῖ. *Epi. Hær. 42. p. 305. G.*

passage in Clemens Alexandrinus, (*d*) which implies, that this was not the opinion of the Marcionites. For he there informs us, that though the Marcionites had taken their notions about the evil of Generation, from some philosophers whom he had before mentioned, yet they differed from them in some particulars relative to this point. For these philosophers asserted, that matter was not evil in itself; but only when considered as the prison of the soul. The soul they asserted, was divine in its nature, and was thrust into this world, as into a place of punishment; and that such souls, as were embodied in these circumstances, needed purification. This he expressly says, was not a sentiment embraced by the followers of Marcion, but rather the opinion of those, who held that souls were thrust into bodies, and tied to them, and poured from one to another, as if from vessel to vessel. In this therefore, Clemens asserts, that the Marcionites did not hold the transmigration of souls. And Epiphanius, who knew that they borrowed some of their notions concerning matter, from philosophers, who believed the transmigration of souls, might too hastily conclude that they agreed with them also in that point.

(*d*) Οι φιλοσοφοι δε παρ'ων την γενεσιν κακην
ειναι, ασεβως εκμαδοντες οι απο Μαρκιωνος - -
καταγινωσκει γαρ ενταυθα την ψυχην θειαν εσαν κα-
δαπερ εις κολασησιον τον κοσμον, αποκαθαιρου-
σαι δε ταις ενσωματεμεναις ψυχαις προσηκει κατ'

αυτης. και εστιν το δογμα τωτο ο τοις απο Μαρ-
κιωνος εστι, τοις δε ενσωματεσθαι και μετενδεδισθαι
και μεταγχιζεσθαι τας ψυχας αξιουσι οικειον.
Strom. Lib. 3. p. 432.

SECT. XVIII. *Some Account of their Notion that Christ delivered the Wicked, and left the Good.*

IRENÆUS in the passage afore (e) cited to which I now SECT. 18.
only refer, without transcribing it again at large, says, Marcion taught, that when Christ descended to hell, he delivered many wicked people, but left there the Patriarchs, and many other good men of the Old Testament.

Epiphanius (f) too says, that according to Marcion, the Lord descended to hell, and saved Cain, and Corah, and Dathan, and Abiram, and Esau, and all the nations, who did not worship the God of the Jews: but that he left there Abel, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and Moses, and David, and Solomon. To the like purpose Theodoret, (g) that Cain and the people of Sodom, and other wicked people came to the Lord Jesus in hell, obtained salvation, and were taken by him into his kingdom: but Abel, and Enoch, and Noah, and the Patriarchs and the Prophets, were not delivered, because they would not come to him. Tertullian, also has a plain reference to (b) this matter.

Upon which Beaufobre (i) has made observations, which will be readily admitted by most, as giving a probable explanation of this notion of Marcion.

1. It was, says he, a very general opinion, that Jesus Christ went to Hades, and preached there, and brought thence all

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that

(e) *Adv. Hær. L. 1. c. 27. [al. 29.] p. 105.*

(f) *H. 42. n. iv. p. 305.*

(g) *H. Fab. L. 1. c. 24. p. 211.*

(b) *O Deum etiam ad inferos misericordem. Adv. M. L. 3. cap. 24. p. 499. A.*

(i) *Hist. de Manich. T. 2. p. 111, 113.*

SECT. 18. that believed in him. The ancients being of opinion, that eternal life is not to be obtained, but through faith in Jesus Christ; and that God is too merciful, to let men perish for not having heard the gospel; supposed that the Lord preached also to the dead, that they might have the same advantage with the living.

2. In the language of Marcion, and the Fathers likewise, hell does not necessarily mean the place of the damned. In that space is Tartarus, the place of torment, and paradise, or the bosom of Abraham, a place of rest and refreshment. In that part of Hades Jesus found the just men of the Old Testament. They were not miserable, but were in a place of comfort and pleasure. For, as Marcion says in Tertullian, your (*k*) Christ promiseth the Jews after this life rest in Hades, even in the bosom of Abraham.

3. Christ preached the gospel to those just men; but they having never heard of the invisible, or supreme Deity, who, as Marcion said, was unknown before the coming of Christ, they suspected, that the Creator designed to tempt them, which hindered them from believing in Christ. Marcion, very probably, took this thought, from those places of the Old Testament, where God forewarns the Israelites, not to hearken to Prophets that preached another God, though they wrought signs and wonders: forasmuch as in such a case, they might know, that Jehovah whom they served, only tried them, to prove their fidelity.

4. The Lord having preached to those just men in Abraham's bosom, and they not receiving him, he went to Tartarus, the place of the damned, where were confined by the Creator,

(*k*) Ceterum vester Christus pristinum in sinu Abrahæ refrigerium. *Adv. M.*
 statum Judæis pollicetur, ex restitutione *L. 3. c. 24. p. 499. A.*
 terræ, et post decursum vitæ apud inferos

Creator, Corah, Dathan, and Abiram, and the people of Sodom and Gomorra, and other wicked men; and made a tender of mercy to those miserable souls, who had been suffering for many ages the punishment of their crimes. They embraced his offer, and repented, and he took them with him into his kingdom. All which is not a little countenanced by what Irenæus says. There is still more upon this subject in Beaufobre, to whom I refer, which may be read by the inquisitive.

SECT. XIX. *Marcion's Opinion about the Person of Christ, that he was not a real Man.*

MARCION was so far from believing, that our Saviour was born of a virgin, that he did not allow (1) he was born at all. He thought the son of God took the exterior form of a man, (m) and, appeared (n) as a man; and (o) without being born, or gradually growing up to the full stature of a man, he showed himself at once in Galilee as a man grown. It is thought that his gospel of St. Luke, began with these words. (p) “In the fifteenth year of “Tiberius, God descended into Capernaum, a city of Galilee.” At least Tertullian seems to intimate this. And

G g 2

Epiphanius

(1) Sed et virginem inquit parere, natura non patitur. *Adv. Mar. L. 3. c. 13. p. 487. D.*

(m) Cum propterea nec corporis susceperit veritatem.—Qui corpus non habuit, ungui omnino non potuit: qui ungui omnino non potuit Christus vocari nullo modo potuit. *Ib. c. 15. p. 490. B.*

(n) Sic enim et Marcion phantasma eum maluit credere, totius corporis in illo dedig-

natus veritatem. *De Anima. c. 17. p. 319. D.*

(o) Non fuit inquis ordo ejusmodi necessarius, quia statim se et filium, et missum, et Dei Christum rebus ipsis esset probaturus per documenta virtutum. *Adv. Mar. L. 3. c. 3. p. 478. A.*

(p) Anno decimo quinto principatus Tiberiani proponit Deum descendisse in Civitatem Galileæ Capernaum. *Ib. L. 4. c. 7. p. 506. D.*

SECT. 19. Epiphanius (*q*) says what amounts to near the same. That it was the doctrine of the Marcionites, that Christ first appeared in the fifteenth of Tiberius, is evident from many (*r*) passages in antient authors, but particularly from Tertullian. They also supposed, (*f*) that at the first moment of his appearance in this world, he was compleatly fitted to enter on his great work; and that he immediately assumed the character of a Saviour.

Irenæus in like manner, in the passage transcribed from him at the beginning of this article says, (*t*) Marcion taught, that Jesus came into Judæa in the time of Pontius Pilate, appeared to the Jews in the form of a man.

Tertullian informs (*u*) us, that according to the doctrine of the Marcionites, Christ had the appearance of a human body, though not the reality. He appeared to have flesh, though he really had not. They thought, they had a sufficient foundation, (*x*) on which to ground this opinion, because angels had appeared under the Old Testament, in bodily shapes,

(*q*) Ταῦτα πάντα περιόψας ἀπιπῆδῃσιν καὶ ἀρχὴν τῆς Εὐαγγελίᾳ ἐτάξε ταύτην ἐν τῷ πεντέκαιδεκάτῳ ἔτει. καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. *Epip. Har.* 42. p. 312. *A.*

(*r*) Καθὼς περιέχει τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον ὅτι ἐπὶ Τιβέριον Καίσαρος ἐπὶ τῶν χρόνων Πιλάτου. *Dia. Con. Mar. sec. 2. p. 45. Vid. p. 46.*

Anno XV. Tiberii Cæsaris Christus Jesus de Cælo manare dignatus est spiritus salutaris. *Adv. Mar. Lib. 1. c. 19. p. 443. A. Vid. etiam. Lib. 4. c. 7. p. 506. D.*

(*f*) Non novem mensium cruciatu deliberatus, non subita dolorum concussione per corporis cloacam effusus ad terram,—nec molestus uberibus, diu infans, vix puer, tarde homo, sed de cælo expositus, semel grandis, semel totus, statim Christus, spiritus et virtus et Deus tantum. *Ib. L. 4. c. 21. p. 536. B. C.*

(*t*) *Vid. p. 225. note c. of this account.*

(*u*) Cujus Christus etsi non induit veritatem, ut huic hæresi visum est, imaginem tamen ejus subire dignatus est. *Adv. Mar. L. 1. c. 24. p. 448. B.*

(*x*) In ista quæstione qui putaveris nobis opponendos esse Angelos creatoris quasi et illi in phantasmate putativæ utique carnis egerint apud Abraham et Loth et tamen vere sint et congressi et pasci et operati quod mandatum eis fuerit. Dehinc scito nec illud concedi tibi ut putativa fuerit in angelis caro sed veræ et solidæ substantiæ humanæ. Meus autem Deus—æque potuit ex quacunque materia Angelis quoque construxisse carnem, qui etiam mundum ex nihilo in tot et talia corpora, et quidem verbo ædificavit. *Adv. Mar. Lib. 3. c. 9. p. 484. B. C.*

shapes, and had conversed with men, and yet were not really men. They also endeavoured to prove the same points, from Philip II. 6, 7 8, (y) because they observe, the apostle says, being in the form of God, he emptied himself, and took the form of a servant, the *appearance* not the *reality*: so also, being in the *likeness* of man, not *truly* man: and again being found in the *figure* of a man, not in the *substance*, that is not in the *flesh*.

That Marcion denied Christ's nativity, (z) appears from many passages of Tertullian, several of which I place in the note. (a) Some of my readers will be pleased to see them collected together.

(y) Plane de substantia Christi putant et hic Marcionitæ suffragari apostolum sibi quod Phantasma carnis fuerit in Christo quum dicit, quod in effigie Dei constitutus exhaustit semetipsum accepta *effigie* servi non *veritate*: et in *similitudine* hominis non in *homine*: et *figura* inventus hominis, non *substantia*, i. e. non *carne*. *Ibid. Lib. 5. c. 20. p. 614. D.*

(z) Totas istas præstigijs putativæ in Christo corpulentæ Marcion illa intentione suscepit, ne ex testimonio substantiæ humanæ nativitas quoque ejus defenderetur, atque ita Christus Creatoris vindicaretur, ut et nascibilis ac per hoc carneus annuntiaretur. *Ibid. Lib. 3. c. 11.*

(a) Marcion ut carnem Christi negaret negavit etiam nativitatem: aut ut nativitatem negaret, negavit et carnem.—Plane nativitas a Gabriele annuntiatur.—Odit moras qui subito Christum de cœlis deferabat. Aufer inquit molestos semper Cæsaris census, et diverforia angusta, et fordidos pannos, et dura præsepia.—Servent potius pecora pastores, et Magi ne fatigentur de longinquo.—Sed nec circumcidetur infans, nec ad templum deferatur: nec in manus tradatur, Simeoni.—Taceat et anus illa.—His opinor consiliis tot originalia instrumen-

ta Christi delere, Marcion ausus es, ne caro ejus probaretur. *De Carne Christi. c. 1, 2. p. 358. B. C. D.*

Venimus nunc ad constantissimum argumentum omnium qui Domini nativitatem in controversiam deferunt. Ipse, inquit, contestatur, se non esse natum, dicendo, quæ mihi mater, et qui mihi fratres? *Vid. Luc. 8. 19, 22. Adv. Mar. Lib. 4. c. 19.*

Desiderantes rationem qua non putaveris natum esse Christum necesse est quatenus hoc putas arbitrio tuo licuisse, ut aut impossibilem, aut inconvenientem Deo existimaveris nativitatem. *De Carne Christi. c. 3. p. 359. A. B.*

Sunt plane et alia tam stulta quæ pertinent ad contumelias et passiones Dei. Aut prudentiam dicant Deum crucifixum. Aufer hoc quoque Marcion, immo hoc potius. Quid enim indignius Deo? Quid magis erubescendum? Nasci an mori? Carnem gestare an crucem? Circumcidi an suffigi? Educari an sepeliri? In præsepe deponi, an in monumenta recondi?—An ideo passiones a Christo non rescidisti, quia ut phantasma vacabat a sensu earum. Diximus retro æque illum et nativitatis et infantiae imaginariæ vacua ludibria subire potuisse. *De Carne Christi. c. 5. p. 364. B. C.*

SECT. XX. *Tertullian's Arguments against this Notion.*

SECT. 20.

AS Christ according to this account, had the appearance of a body, but not the reality, Tertullian (*b*) often charges Marcion with making Christ deceitful; alledging, that he could not be Christ, if he had no body to be anointed: he asserts therefore, (*c*) that he must have taken the name of Christ, only because it was a popular title and character, without which, the Jews would not have been disposed to have received him.

This deceitfulness of Jesus, according to the doctrine which Marcion held, Tertullian endeavours to make out in many different ways, and in a great variety of passages, too long and too numerous to be here inserted. Two of (*d*) them only are given below.

However, some of the followers of Marcion (*e*) believed Christ to have had real flesh, though they would not allow that

(*b*) Si et mentitum alicubi dicis creatorem, longe majus mendacium est in tuo Christo cujus corpus non fuit verum. *Ad. Mar. L. 2. c. 28. p. 475. D.*

(*c*) Si enim Christus unctus est, unguis utique corporis passio est. Qui corpus non habuit ungui omnino non potuit. Christus vocari nullo modo potuit. Sed quomodo inquit irreperet Judæorum fidem nisi per solemne apud eos et familiæ nomen. *Adv. Mar. Lib. 3. c. 15, 16. p. 490. B. C.*

(*d*) Quid dimidias mendacio Christum, totus veritas fuit. Maluit crede nasci, quam ex aliqua se parte mentiri, et quidem in semetipsum. Ut carnem gestaret sine ossibus duram, sine musculis solidam, sine sanguine cruentam, sine tunica vestitam, sine fame

esurientem, sine dentibus edentem, sine lingua loquentem, ut phantasma auribus fuit sermo ejus per imaginem vocis. *De Carne Christi. c. 5. p. 362. A. B.*

Ecce fallit et decipit et circumvenit omnium oculos, omnium sensus, omnium accessus et contactus. Ergo jam Christum non de cælo deferre debueras, &c. *Ibid. c. 5. p. 362. C.*

(*e*) Sed quidam discipuli Pontici illius, supra magistrum sapere compulsi, concedunt Christo carnis veritatem,—dum omnino non natam—Pervenimus igitur ex Marcione ad Apellem qui—solidum Christi corpus sed sine nativitate suscepit—prædicans ut Angelus quidem illius Philumenes. *De Carne Christi, c. 6. p. 362. C. D.*

that he was born. This seems to have been the opinion of SECT. 20.
Apelles.

SECT. XXI. *Marcion believed there were to
be two Christs.*

MARCION acknowledged Jesus to be Christ, but not SECT. 21.
(*f*) the Christ foretold by the Jewish prophets. He could not deny, that a Christ or Messiah was there spoken of, but he said, a (*g*) person different from our Lord Jesus Christ was thereby meant. He allowed as Tertullian expresseth it, (*h*) that the prophets of the Creator had promised a Saviour to the Jewish nation, who should deliver them out of the hands of their enemies, and restore them to freedom. But he pretended, that this deliverer was not the son of God; and that the Oracles of the Old Testament did not agree to Jesus Christ. So that this man as Tertullian observes, (*i*) who was so averse to Judaism, did himself judaize
in

(*f*) Quum igitur hæretica dementia eum Christum venisse præsumeret, qui nunquam fuerat annuntiatus; sequebatur ut eum Christum nondum venisse contenderet, qui semper fuerat prædicatus: atque ita coacta est cum Judaico errore sociari et ab eo argumentationem sibi struere, quasi Judæi certi et ipsi alium fuisse qui venit non modo respuerint eum ut extraneum, verum et interfecerint eum ut adversarium. *Ibid.* L. 3. c. 6. p. 480. B. C.

(*g*) Sic nec illam injectionem tuam potes sistere ad differentiam duorum Christorum: quasi Judaicus quidem Christus populo soli ex dispersione redigendo destinatur a Creatore: vester vero omni humano generi liberando collatus sit a Deo optimo. *Adv. Mar.*

L. 3. c. 21. p. 496. A.

Certe si nondum venit Christus Creatoris, propter quem hæc passuri prædicantur. — Redde statum Judææ quem Christus Creatoris inveniat et alium contende venisse. *Ibid.* L. 3. c. 23. p. 498. D.

(*h*) His quum accedunt et sui Christi: alter qui apparuit sub Tiberio, alter qui a Creatore promittitur. *Ibid.* L. 1. c. 15. p. 441. A.

(*i*) Nunc quia cum Judæis negas venisse Christum eorum; recognosce et exitum ipsorum quem post Christum relaturi prædicabantur ob impietatem, qua eum et despexerunt et interemerunt. *Ibid.* L. 3. c. 20. p. 497. D.

SECT. 21. in the most shameful manner. Marcion, says (*k*) that writer is for two Christs, one who appeared in the time of Tiberius, for the salvation of all nations; and another the restorer of the Jewish state, who is yet to come.

This doctrine of two Christs, is also asserted by the Marcionite (*l*) in the dialogue ascribed to Origen. In a work also said to be writ by Athanasius (*m*) we are informed, that Marcion supposed, as Jesus came from the good God, so there was to be another from the just God; because each of them was to be the father of a Christ peculiar to himself; the good God of one, the just God of another.

SECT. XXII. *He also allowed the Truth of our Saviour's Miracles.*

SECT. 22. **M**ARCION allowed the truth of our Saviour's Miracles. He asserted, that he thereby shewed himself to be the Son of God, and to be sent from the Father, and that these were sufficient evidences, without prophecies. So says Tertullian. (*n*) And that this was his opinion appears further, from Tertullian's manner of arguing with him. For he

(*k*) Constituit Marcion alium esse Christum qui Tiberianis temporibus a Deo quondam ignoto revelatus sit in salutem omnium gentium: alium qui a Deo Creatore in restitutionem Judaici status sit destinatus, quandoque venturus. *Ibid.* L. 4. c. 6. p. 506. C.

(*l*) Διαικνύται εν τον δια νομω και προφητων χριστον μηδεπω εληλυθεναι. *Dial. Con. Mar. sec. 1. p. 35.*

Εναργεστερα μοι εστιν αποδειξις τε μη ειναι

υιον του δικαιου των χριστων: Ο γαρ τε νομω επω εληλυθει. *Ibid.* p. 34.

(*m*) Αυτη Μαρκιωνος η δυσσεβεια, Θεον λεγοντος δικαιον ιδιου χριστου πατερα, και Θεον ιτερον αγαθον ιδιου χριστου πατερα. *Contra. Sabelli. Tom. 2. p. 42. A. Bened.*

(*n*) Non fuit inquis ordo necessarius, quia statim et filium et missum et Christum Dei *rebus ipsis* probabatur per documenta virtutum. *Adv. Mar. L. 3. c. 3. p. 478. A.*

he is pleased to assert, (o) that this proof is inconclusive, because Jesus Christ has assured his disciples, that some would arise, who should work false miracles. We need not examine this reasoning. It shows, that Marcion allowed the reality of Christ's miracles, and thought them a sufficient foundation for believing in him. But Tertullian by way of opposition, and in the heat of controversy, rashly does what he can, to weaken one very strong, if not the strongest argument, for the truth of the christian religion. SECT. 22.

SECT. XXIII. *And of his Death.*

THE Marcionite doctrine concerning our Saviour was, (p) SECT. 23.
that out of his love to the human race, and their sakes, he descended into this world, (q) and submitted to great humiliation. Though from Tertullian's arguments, (r) and from their not acknowledging him to have had real flesh, it may be supposed, they did not allow him to have truly suffered. However that be, they believed he was betrayed by (s)

H h

the

(o) At ego negabo solum hanc illi speciem ad testimonium competisse quam et ipse postmodum exauktoravit. Siquidem edicens multos venturos, qui signa facturos et virtutes magnas edituros—temerariam signorum et virtutum fidem ostendit, ut etiam apud Pseudo christos facillimam. *Ib.* p. 478.

(p) Hanc venerationem naturæ Marcion despuit—Certe Christus dilexit hominem.--Propter eum descendit, propter eum prædicavit, propter eum omni se humilitate dejecit usque ad mortem, et mortem crucis: amavit utique quem magno pretio redemit. *De Carne Christi.* c. 4. p. 360. B.

(q) Si enim Deus et quidem sublimior, tanta humilitate fastigium majestatis suæ stravit, ut etiam morti subjiceretur, et morti

crucis; cur non putetis nostro quoque Deo aliquas pusillitates congruisse, tolerabiliores tamen judaicis contumeliis et patibulis et sepulchris. *Adv. Mar. L. 2. c. 27. p. 475. C. Vid. etiam. L. 3. c. 11. p. 486. C.*

(r) Sceleatissime hominum, qui, interceptores excusas Dei. Nihil enim ab eis passus est Christus, si nihil vere est passus. *De Carne Christi.* c. 5. p. 361.

Sic nec passionem Christi ejus fidem merebuntur, nihil enim passus est, qui non vere est passus: vere enim pati phantasma non potuit. *Adv. Mar. L. 3. c. 8. p. 483. D.*

(s) Atquin Christum inquam alterius Dei dicitis, a Creatoris virtutibus et potestatibus ut ab æmulis in crucem actum. *Ibid. L. 3. c. 23. p. 498. C.*

SECT. 23. the Jews, at the instigation of their God the Creator, that he died (*t*) and was buried. Yea they even said, that the death of the Messiah, was necessary for the salvation of men, (*u*) though they did not suppose it to be an expiatory sacrifice.

SECT. XXIV. *And Resurrection.*

SECT. 24. **T**HEY must likewise have believed our Lord's resurrection. (*x*) For they had in their gospel, the account of his addressing himself to the apostles after that event, (*y*) "Why are ye troubled: see my hands and my feet, for a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see me have." But they seem to have turned it (*z*) in this manner. "A spirit hath not flesh and bones, as you see I have not."

That

(*t*) Deus meus aliquem jussit occidi: tuus semetipsum voluit interfici; non minus homicida in semetipsum, quam in eum a quo vellet occidi. *Ibid. Lib. 2. c. 28. p. 475. D.*

(*u*) Ο Δημιουργός ἰδὼν τὸν ἀγαθὸν λυόντα αὐτὴν τὸν νόμον ἐπέβηλευσεν αὐτῷ, μὴ εἰδὼς ὅτι ὁ θάνατος τῆ ἀγαθῆ σωτηρίας ἀνθρώπων ἐγένετο. *Dial. Con. Mar. sec. 2. p. 53. fin.*

(*x*) Fuit itaque phantasma etiam post resurrectionem cum manus et pedes suos discipulis inspicendos offerret: aspiciat inquit quod ego sum, quia spiritus ossa non habet, sicut me habentem videtis. Quomodo hanc vocem interpretaris Marcion, qui a Deo optimo et simplici et bono tantum, infers Jesum? Ecce fallit et decipit, &c. *De Carne Christ. c. 5. p. 362. B.*

(*y*) Καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς τί τεταραγμένοι ἐσθε, καὶ διὰ τί διαλογισμοὶ ἀναβαίνεισιν ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις

υμῶν; Ἰδετε τὰς χεῖρας μὲν, καὶ τοὺς πόδας μὲν, ὅτι αὐτός ἐγώ εἰμι. Ἀγγέλου με καὶ ἰδετε ὅτι πνεῦμα σὰρκα καὶ ὅσα ἔχει, καθὼς ἐμε θεωρεῖτε ἔχοντα. *Luc. 24. 38. 39.*

(*z*) De corporis autem veritate quid potest clarius? Quum hæsitantibus eis ne phantasma esset, immo phantasma credentibus: quid turbati estis inquit, et quid cogitationes subeunt in corda vestra? Videte manus meas et pedes, quia ego ipse sum: quoniam spiritus ossa non habet, sicut me videtis habere. Et Marcion quædam contraria sibi, illa credo industria eradere de evangelio suo noluit.—Vult itaque sic dictum, quasi, spiritus ossa non habet sicut me videtis habentem, ad spiritum referatur, sicut me videtis habentem, id est non habentem ossa sicut et spiritus. *Adv. Mar. L. 4. c. 43. p. 374. D. 375. A.*

That they firmly believed our Saviour's miracles is hence evident, because Tertullian in arguing with them (*a*) shows, that by denying his having a body, and really suffering, they weakened the evidence of all his works of power; for if our senses might be mistaken about the one, they might be so likewise about the other: but as he knew they allowed the reality of these, he made use of this medium, to lead them to a belief of the other also: indeed from very many of his arguments to prove the reality of Christ's body, it appears, they admitted the reality of his miracles: for he argues (*b*) thus: "without his having a real body, his miracles, and all his actions were deceitful, and only in appearance; and his example what we have no concern with:" which conclusions, were absurdities and falsehoods in their esteem, therefore they admitted the truth of the miracles.

In the dialogue before referred to, (*c*) the Marcionite expressly says, that Christ had opened the eyes of many, that were blind.

(*a*) Non diceretur homo Christus sine Carne.—Sicut nec Deus sine spiritu Dei nec Dei filius sine Deo patre. Ita utriusque substantiæ census hominem et Deum exhibuit: hinc carneum inde spirituale, hinc infirmum inde præfortem, hinc morientem inde viventem. Quæ proprietas conditionum divinæ et humanæ: virtutes spiritum Dei, passiones carnem hominis probaverunt. Si virtutes non sine spiritu, proinde et passiones non sine Carne. Si caro cum passionibus ficta, et spiritus ergo cum virtutibus falsus, &c. *De Car. Chriſt. c. 5. p. 362. A. B.*

(*b*) Caro nec Caro, Homo nec Homo: proinde Deus Christus nec Deus. Curenim non etiam Dei phantasma portaverit. An credam

ei de interiore substantia, qui sit de exteriori frustratus?—Jam nunc quum mendacium deprehenditur Christus caro, sequitur ut et omnia quæ per carnem Christi gesta sunt, mendacio gesta sunt; congressus, contactus, convictus, ipsæ quoque virtutes. Si enim tangendo aliquem liberavit a vitio, vel tactus ab aliquo quod corporaliter actum est non potest vere actum credi sine corporis ipsius veritate. Putativus habitus, putativus actus: imaginarius operator, imaginariæ operæ. *Adv. Mar. Lib. 3. c. 8. p. 483. C. D.*

(*c*) Ο δε κυριος ημων αγαθος ων πολλων τυφλων ηνοιξεν οφθαλμους. *Dia. Con. Mar. sec. 1. p. 29. fin.*

SECT. XXV. *And of the principal Facts related concerning him.*

SECT. 25.

FROM all these testimonies, and from the arguments alledged by Tertullian, as here represented, as also from others, which he introduces, to prove the excellency (*d*) and worth of man, and the certainty of his being a creature of the supreme God, it appears, that the Marcionites believed the whole history of our Saviour's appearance in a human form, and of his death on the cross. They also believed that he was crucified between two malefactors. (*e*) But the circumstance of his garments being divided by the soldiers, was expunged by Marcion from his gospel, because it was foretold by the Psalmist, Ps. xxii. 18. They moreover allowed the truth of the miraculous (*f*) earthquake and darkness, at the time of his crucifixion. They acknowledged (*g*) his having twelve apostles, and that one of them was a traitor.

(*d*) Postremo te tibi circumfer, intus et foris considera hominem. Placebit tibi vel hoc opus Dei nostri, quod tuus dominus ille Deus melior adamavit: propter quem in hæc pauperrima elementa de tertio cælo descendere laboravit: cujus causa in hac cellula creatoris etiam crucifixus est. *Adv. Mar. Lib. 1. c. 14. p. 439. D.*

(*e*) Et Barrabas quidem nocentissimus, vita ut bonus donatur. Christus vero iustificatus ut homicida morti expostulatur. Sed et duo scelesti configuntur illi, ut inter iniquos scilicet deputeretur. Vestitum plane ejus a militibus divisum, partim sorte concessum, Marcion abstulit, respiciens Psalmi prophetiam. Aufer igitur et crucem ipsam. *Adv. Mar. Lib. 4. c. 42. p. 573. A.*

(*f*) Ecce autem et elementa concutuntur, Dominus enim patiebatur ipsorum. Ceterum adversario læso, cælum luminibus florisset, magis sol radiis insultasset, magis dies stetit, libenter spectans pendentem in patibulo Christum Marcionis. *Ib. Lib. 4. c. 42. p. 573. D.*

(*g*) Væ ait per quem traditur filius hominis. Ergo jam væ constat imprecationis et comminationis inclamationem intelligendam, et irato et offenso deputandam, nisi si Judas impune erat tantum sceleris relaturus. Porro si sciens passus est hominem quem ipse comitatu suo asciverat in tantum scelus ruere, &c. *Ibid. Lib. 4. c. 21. p. 571. D. Vid. Dia. Cont. Marc. sec. 1. p. 8. πρῶτος ἀπιστεῖν ἰβ.*

tor. The truth of the appearance of Moses (*b*) and Elias on the mount, was also assented to by them; and the reality of that voice from heaven, which said, this is my beloved son, hear him. SECT. 25.

SECT. XXVI. *The Manners of the Marcionites were virtuous, and they had many Martyrs.*

WITH respect to the manners of the Marcionites, they SECT. 26. are not charged by their adversaries with being vicious. For Tertullian in the very place, (*i*) where he is upbraiding them with that tenet of theirs, which represents God as not the object of fear, shews from his way of arguing with them, that they had a respect to the will of God, and were desirous of obtaining his favour, as the greatest good.

The whole drift of his reasoning takes it for granted, that they did not comply with the vicious pursuits of the heathens, but like other christians, avoided being present at the savage spectacles of the Circus, and the licentious games of the Theatre; and did not allow themselves in indulging carnal desires, though their adversaries said, that their principles led directly to the gratifying them.

In

(*b*) Nam et hoc vel maxime erubescere debuisti, quod illum cum Moyse et Elia in secessu montis conspici pateris, quorum destructor advenerat. Hoc scilicet intelligi voluit vox illa de cœlo; hic est filius meus dilectus, hunc audite. Id est, non Moysem jam et Heliam. Ergo sufficiebat vox sola sine ostentatione Moyfi et Helix. *Ibid. L. 4. c. 22. p. 556. D.*

(*i*) Age itaque qui Deum non times quasi bonum, quid non in omnem libidinem ebul-

lis, summum quod sciam fructum vitæ omnibus qui Deum non timent? Quid non frequentas tam solennes voluptates circi furentis, et caveæ sævientis, et scenæ lascivientis? Quid non et in persecutionibus statim oblata acerra animam negatione lucraris? Absit, inquis, absit. Ergo jam times delictum, et timendo probasti illum timeri qui prohibet delictum. Aliud est si quem non times observas. *Adv. Mar. Lib. 1. c. 27. p. 451. A.* See also what follows to the end of the chap.

SECT. 26.

In short it is evident, that these people were in general strictly virtuous; that they dreaded sin, as the greatest evil; and had such a real regard for Christ, as to undergo martyrdom rather than offer incense to idols. They seem indeed to have had a great number of martyrs. Asterius Urbanus, (*k*) or some other antient author, who wrote against the Montanists about the year of Christ 232, in answer to their boasts of the number of *their* martyrs, observes, that the Marcionites and other heretics, were known to have had a great many martyrs. This passage is given us by Eusebius without being contradicted. Which makes it probable, that this was really the case. Clemens Alexandrinus (*l*) also blames some heretics, who from his expressions, appear to be Marcionites, for offering themselves to martyrdom in a foolish and rash manner.

SECT. XXVII. *They contemned Marriage, and highly extolled Virginity.*

SECT. 27.

IN some parts of their conduct indeed, they were superstitiously scrupulous; such as in many cases in (*m*) contemning, and in some in absolutely forbidding (*n*) marriage; and

(*k*) Και γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων αἱρεσέων τινες πλείους οὐκ ἔχουσιν μαρτυράς—καὶ πρῶτοι γὰρ οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Μαρκίωνος αἱρέσεως μαρκιωνίται καλεῖσθαι, πλείους οὐκ ἔχουσιν Χριστὴν μαρτυράς λεγόντων. *Apud Euseb. Lib. 5. c. 16. p. 182. D.*

(*l*) Λεγόμεν δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς τῆς ἐπιτηδεύσαντες τῷ θανάτῳ, εἰσι γὰρ τινες ἐκ ἡμετέρων μόνον τῷ ἐνοματός κοινωνοί, οἱ δὲ αὐτῆς παραδιδόντες σπυρδῶσι, τῇ πρὸς τὸν δημιουργὸν ἀπεχθείᾳ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ θανατούντες. *Strom. Lib. 4. p. 481. C.*

(*m*) Sequitur de nuptiis congregi, quas Marcion constantior Apostolo prohibet. Et

enim Apostolus etsi bonum continentiae præfert, tamen conjugium et contrahi permittit, et usui esse. Et magis retineri quam disjungi suadet. Marcion totum connubium auferens, &c. *Adv. Mar. L. 4. c. 7. p. 588. B. C. Vid etiam. Lib. 1. c. 29. p. 452. A.*

Si nec ipsi Marcionitæ fœminas appetunt. *Ibid. c. 8. p. 590. B.*

(*n*) Unde jam dicam Deum Marcionis cum matrimonium ut malum et impudicitiae negotium reprobatur, adversus ipsam facere sanctitatem

and in advising, (*o*) and passing high encomiums upon virginity. On this account Jerom (*p*) often ranks Marcion with Tatian, Mani, and other Eneratites, who rejected marriage. They seem (*q*) to have considered the connubial state, not merely as less perfect, but even as sinful, impure, and odious in the eyes of their (*r*) God; whom they call a hater of marriage. If Tertullian has not misrepresented them, (*s*) they appear to have admitted none to baptism, but unmarried persons, or such as promised to live as unmarried, in the marriage state.

SECT. 27.

Clement

sanctitatem cui videtur studere. *Ibid.* L. 1. c. 30. p. 452. C. See also L. 5. c. 15. p. 605. A. B. Where Tertullian draws an argument against them, for forbidding marriage, from 1 Theff. iv. 3. because the apostle there doth not command us to abstain from marriage, but from fornication.

(*o*) Παρ αὐτῶ δὲ τῷ Μαρκίωνι καὶ παρθενία κηρύσσεται. *Epi. Har.* 42. No. 3. p. 304. A.

(*p*) Neque enim nos Marcionis et Manichæi dogma sectantes nuptiis detrahimus. Nec Tatiani principis Eneratitarum errore decepti omnem coitum spurcum putamus, qui non solum nuptias sed cibos quoque quos Deus creavit ad utendum, damnat et reprobant. *Ad. Pamm. Ep.* 30. al. 50. T. 4. p. 230. in.

(*q*) Quis enim tam castrator, carnis castror quam qui nuptias abstulit. *Adv. Mar. Lib.* 1. cap. 1. p. 430. D.

Timotheum instruens nuptiarum quoque interdictores suggillat. Ita instituunt Marcion et Apellus ejus Secutor. *De Præf.* c. 30. p. 243. D. See also *Adv. Mar. Lib.* 4. c. 34. p. 558. D. et c. 17. p. 528. A.

(*q*) Deum suum intuens detestatorem

nuptiarum. *Adv. Mar. L.* 4. c. 29. p. 552. A.

(*r*) Jam nunc Deus Marcionis qui connubium adversatur, quomodo videri potest parvulorum dilector, quorum tota causa connubium est? Qui semen odit fructum quoque execretur necesse est. Næ ille sævior habendus Ægyptio rege. Nam Pharaon educari non sinebat infantes. Ille nec nasci, auferens vitam illis etiam decem mensium. *Adv. Mar. L.* 4. c. 23. p. 540. A.

(*s*) Non tinguatur apud illum caro nisi virgo nisi vidua nisi cælebs nisi divortio baptismata mercata, quasi non etiam spadonibus ex nuptiis nata. Sine dubio ex damnatione conjugii institutio ista constabit. *Ibid.* L. 1. c. 29. p. 451. D.

Nec alibi conjunctos ad sacramentum baptismatis et eucharistiæ admittens, nisi inter se conjuraverint adversus fructum nuptiarum, ut adversus ipsum creatorem. *Ibid. Lib.* 4. c. 34. p. 558. B.

Nuptias non jungit, conjunctas non admittit: neminem tinguunt nisi cælibem aut spadonem. Morti aut repudio baptismata servat. *Ibid. Lib.* 4. c. 11. p. 516. B.

SECT. 27.

Clement (*t*) supposeth them to abstain from marriage, that they might not people the world of the Creator; which is a reason similar to that which he assigns, (*u*) for their offering themselves voluntarily to martyrdom, viz. out of hatred to the Creator. Somewhat like this is a hint in Tertullian, (*x*) where he says, that none were admitted to baptism, or the Eucharist, unless they had taken an oath against having any children, as if they meant it against the Creator. Though as Clement observes, (*y*) whatever hatred they bore to him, they partook of his food, and breathed his air.

SECT. XXVIII. *They fasted on the Sabbath.*

SECT. 28.

ANOTHER of their institutions was fasting, (*z*) especially on the sabbath or seventh day, (*a*) which had been a day of rest to the Creator, or God of the Jews, whom they despised. This day therefore they kept as a fast, because they were inclined to do every thing, contrary to what would show the least respect for him.

(*t*) Αλλά οι μὲν ἀπὸ Μαρκίωνος—μὴ βελο-
μνοι τὸν κόσμον τὸν ὑπὸ τῆ δημιουργοῦ γενομένου
συμπληρὴν, ἀπεχεσθαι γάμος βελονταί. *Strom.*
L. 3. p. 431. B.

(*u*) *Vid note (3) No. 14. p. 2.*

(*x*) *Vid. note (f) quot. 2d. p. 236. of this chapter.*

(*y*) Εἰ καὶ μὴ γάμειν ἐβέλουσιν, ἀλλὰ τροφαῖς
χρῶνται ταῖς κτίσιν, καὶ τὸν αἶρα τῆ δημιουργοῦ
ἐναπνεύουσιν. *Strom. Lib. 3. p. 431. C. D.*

(*z*) *Sed et Marcionem designat et Ta-*

tianum et cæteros hæreticos qui abstinentiam
indicunt perpetuam. *Hieron. ad Jovin.*
L. 2. Tom. 4. p. 210. in.

(*a*) Νηστειαν δὲ καὶ τὸ Σάββατον κηρύττει—
ὕδατι δὲ ὕτος ἐν τοῖς μυστηρίοις χρῆται. τὸ σάβ-
βατον δὲ νηστειὴ διὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν, ἐπειδὴ
φησὶ τῇ Θεῷ τῶν Ἰουδαίων εἶναι ἡ ἀναπαυσις τῆ
πεποιηκέντος τὸν κόσμον, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐβδόμῃ ἡμέρᾳ
ἀναπαυσάμενον· ἡμεῖς νηστεύομεν ταύτην, ἵνα
μὴ τὸ καθῆκον τῇ Θεῷ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐργαζώμεθα.
Epiph. Hær. 42. No. 3. p. 304. A. B.

SECT.

SECT. XXIX. *They celebrated Baptism and the Eucharist, but were somewhat irregular in the Administration.*

THEY kept up the ordinances of baptism and the Eucharist, (*b*) as appears from the last passage of Epiphanius, and from several of the foregoing quotations out of Tertullian, and others. Though they were somewhat irregular in the administration, permitting women (*c*) to baptize, and using (*d*) only water in the cup.

SECT. 29.

Epiphanius also (*e*) blames them, for celebrating the Eucharist in the presence of Catechumens, and represents them (*f*) as repeating baptism several times, upon the same person, if he happened to commit any sin, after he had had this rite administered to him. His meaning I suppose is, that those of them who had been guilty of great crimes, were restored by repentance and baptism.

(*b*) Cui enim rei baptismus quoque apud eum exigitur.—Signat igitur hominem nunquam apud se resignatum. Lavat hominem, nunquam apud se coinquinatum et in hoc totum salutis sacramentum, mergit carnem extorrem salutis. *Adv. Mar. L. 1. c. 28. p. 451. C. D.*

Non putem impudentiorem, quam qui in aliena aqua alii Deo tingitur—Super alienum panem alii Deo gratiarum actionibus fungitur. *Ibid. Lib. 1. c. 23. p. 447. C.*

(*c*) Δίδωσι και επιτροπην γυναιξί, βαπτισμα δίδοναι. *Epiph. Hær. 42. No. 4. p. 305. B.*

(*d*) Vide note (*a*) in page 240.

(*e*) Μυστηρια δε δηθεν παρ αυτω επιτελειται των κατηχημενων ορωντων. *Hær. 42. No. 3. p. 304. B.*

Παρ αυτοις γαρ παντα χλυσ ειμπλεα και εδεν ετερον οποτε και τα μυστηρια ενωπιον κατηχημενων επιτελειν τολμωσιν. *Ibid. No. 4. p. 305. B.*

(*f*) Ου μονον δε παρ αυτω εν λητρον διδοται, αλλα και εως τριων λητρων.—ως παρ πολλων ηκηκοα—τητερι τριων βαπτισμων εις αφεσιν αμαρτιων, ινα ει τις παραπεσεν εις το πρωτον λαβη δευτερον μετανοησας και τριτον ωσαυτως εαν εν παραπτώματι μετα το δευτερον γενηται. *Ibid. p. 304. B. C. D.*

SECT. XXX. *They had Churches for stated public Worship.*

SECT. 30.

FROM these passages it might be strongly argued, that they had churches, in which they performed the various parts of public worship. The matter however is evident, from the testimony of several antient authors, particularly Tertullian, from whom (g) I shall give some passages at the bottom of the page, which fully ascertain this point.

SECT. XXXI. *Marcion rejected the Old Testament.*

SECT. 31.

SOME little notice has several times (h) been already taken of the parts of scripture which Marcion received, and of those parts also which he rejected. The Old Testament was altogether set aside by him, (i) as proceeding from the Creator who was in his estimation, void of goodness, and the author

(g) Habet plane et illud (Evangelium) ecclesias sed suas tam posteras quam adulteras—Marcione scilicet conditore vel aliquo de Marcionis examine. Faciunt favos vesperæ, faciunt ecclesias et Marcionitæ. *Adv. Mar. Lib. 4. c. 5. p. 505. C.*

Quoniam ab ortu solis usque in occasum nomen meum glorificatum est in nationibus, et in omni loco sacrificium nomini meo offertur, et sacrificium mundum, gloriæ scilicet relatio, et benedictio, et laus, et hymni. Quæ omnia quam in te quoqueprehendantur, et signaculum frontium, et ecclesiarum sacramenta, et munditiæ sacrificiorum debes jam erumpere, uti dicas, spi-

ritum creatoris tuo Christo prophetasse. *Ad. Mar. Lib. 3. c. 22. p. 447. D. Confer. Lib. 4. c. 1. p. 502. B.*

(h) Credibility. *P. 2. v. 1. p. 359. Vol. 2. p. 577, 8, 9, and 580, 3, 4, and 591, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 620, 3, 5, 6. Vol. 3. p. 362. Vol. 6. p. 310.*

(i) ΜΑΡΚ:—ταῖς γὰρ Ἰουδαίαις φωναῖς ὡς πείδομαι, καὶ γὰρ ἄλλῃ εἰσι θεοί.—Οὐ γὰρ ὑπακούετε νόμῳ ὡς τε προφηταῖς. *Dia. ad. Mar. sec. 2. p. 54.*

ΜΑΡΚ: Ἡμεῖς προφῆτας καὶ νόμον οὐ δεχόμεθα· ὅδε γὰρ εἰσι τὰ ἡμετέρας θεοί. *Ibid. sec. 2. p. 57.*

author of all that sin and misery, which is in the world. SECT. 31.
 His followers (*k*) moreover argued, that the law and the gospel could not come from the same being, because there are, in their opinion, several things contained in the former, inconsistent with many in the latter. They said, the Creator is represented as ignorant, or imperfect in knowledge; when he called to Adam, (*l*) and asked where he was. That he is mutable (*m*) in having contradictory commands; and inconsistent, because he is said to have repented, (*n*) that he made Saul king, and also that he created man: (*o*) all of whom in consequence of the wickedness which so generally prevailed, he destroyed; all, except Noah and his family. Such punishment according to them, manifested a change, and consequently an imperfection in the divine mind, as well as a deficiency in goodness.

I i 2

They

(*k*) See several passages from the foregoing dialogue against the Marcionites inserted at large, *sec. 14. p. 219. note (k)*.

(*l*) ΜΕΓ. Ο Δημιουργός ὅδε ἵδει πῶς ἐστὶν ὁ Ἀδάμ, λέγων, πῶς εἰ. *Dia. adv. Mar. sec. 1. p. 27.*

Jam nunc ut omnia ejusmodi expediam ad ceteras pusillitates et infirmitates et incongruentias interpretandas purgandasque pertendam. Inclamat Deus, Adam ubi es? Scilicet ignorans ubi esset: et causato nuditatis pudore, an de arbo regustasset, interrogat, scilicet incertus. *Ter. adv. Mar. Lib. 2. c. 25. p. 474. Dor. 380. 40.*

(*m*) Sic et in cæteris contrarietates præceptorum ei exprobas ut mobili et instabili, prohibentis sabbatis operari; et jubentis

arcam circumferri per dies octo; *i. e.* etiam sabbato in expugnatione civitatis Hiericho. *Ad. Mar. Lib. 2. cap. 21. p. 469. D. 378. 40.*

(*n*) Si et pœnitentiam apud illum prave interpretaris quasi proinde mobilitate vel improvidentia, immo jam ex delicti recordatione pœniteat: quoniam quidem dixerit, pœnituit quod regem fecerim Saul. *Ibid. Lib. 2. c. 24. p. 471. B. 379. 41.*

(*o*) ΜΕΓ. Οὗτος κατ' ἰδίαν ἐδημιούργησε τῆς ἀνδρωπύας. Μεταμελημαὶ γὰρ φησὶν ὅτι ἐποίησα τὸν ἀνδρωπύον. Μετενοήσεν ὅν κακῆς δημιουργήσας καὶ ἐδήλησεν τετὴς κατακτείναι καὶ ἀπολεῖσαι. Ὁ ἐν ἀγαθῷ ἔ συνεχώρησεν ἀλλ' ἤλεσε τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνδρωπύων. *Dia. ad. Mar. sec. 2. p. 49.*

SECT. 31.

They also argued from Is. xlv. 7. where God says, (*p*) I make peace, and create evil, that this could not be the good or supreme God.

SECT. XXXII. *He also objected to the Appointment of Sacrifices.*

SECT. 32.

THEY objected to the appointment of sacrifices, (*q*) and to the distinction of meats (*r*) into clean and unclean, and were also displeased with the orders given to the Jews, (*s*) to spoil the Egyptians. In short Tertullian says, they

(*p*) Ego sum qui condo mala, &c. Ecce ego emitto in vos mala non peccatoria sed ultoria, quorum satis diluimus infamiam. *Ter. ad. Mar. Lib. 2. c. 24. p. 472. A. or 380. 13.*

De his Creator profitetur malis quæ congruunt judici. *Ibid. Lib. 2. cap. 14. p. 375. 14.*

Ego inquit percutiam, et ego sanabo. Ego inquit occidam et ego vivificabo; condens scilicet mala et faciens pacem. Qua enim soles illum mobilitatis quoque et inconstantiae nomine reprehendere, prohibentem quæ jubet et jubentem quæ prohibet. *Ib. Lib. 4 c. 1. 502. C. or 404. 35.*

(*q*) Diximus de sacrificiorum rationali institutione, avocante scilicet ab idolis ad Deum officia ea quæ si rursus ejecerat dicens; quo mihi multitudinem sacrificiorum vestrorum? Hoc ipsum voluit intelligi, quod non sibi ea proprie exegisset. *Ad. Mar. Lib. 2. c. 22. p. 470. B. C. or 379. 11.*

Sacrificiorum quoque opera, et operationum et oblationum negotiosas scrupulositates nemo reprehendat, quasi Deus talia sibi proprie desideravit, qui tam manifeste exclamat, quo mihi multitudinem sacrificiorum vestrorum? Et quis exquisivit ista ex manibus vestris? Sed illam Dei industriam sentiat, qua

populum pronum in idololatriam et transgressionem ejusmodi officiis religioni suæ voluit astringere, quibus superstitio seculi agebatur, ut ab ea avocaret illos, sibi jubens fieri quasi desideranti, ne simulacris faciendis delinqueret. *Ib. c. 18. 467. D. 375. 28.*

(*r*) Et si lex aliquid cibis detrahit, et immunda pronuntiat animalia quæ aliquando benedicta sunt, concilium exercendæ continentiae intellige, et frænos impositos illi gulæ agnosce, quæ quum panem ederet angelorum, cucumeres et pepones Ægyptiorum desiderabat. *Ibid. Lib. 2. c. 18. 467. D. 377. 20.*

(*s*) Sed et per istas caligines sequemur nequitiam, et in lucem extrahemus ingenia tenebrarum, objicientia creatori vel maxime fraudem illam et rapinam auri et argenti, mandata ab illo Hebræis in Ægyptios. *Ib. L. 2. c. 20. 469. A. B. 378. 18.*

ΜΕΓ. Ο Θεός της γενεσεως ενταλται Μωυσει εκβαινοντι εκ γης Αιγυπτου, λεγων· Ετοιμοι γενεσθε την οσφην εξωσμενοι, της ποδας υποδεμενοι, τας ξαβδας εν ταις χερσιν υμων, τας πηρας εχοντες εφ εαυτης, χρυσον και αργυρον και ταλλα παντα απενεγκασθε των Αιγυπτιων. ο δε Κυριος ημων ο αμισθος· κ. τ. λ. *Dia. Con. Mar. sec. 1. p. 16.*

(*t*) they brought such, and so many objections against the law and the prophets, that they looked more like the objections of heathens, than of persons who embraced christianity, though ever so heretical in their notions. SECT. 32.

Against these, and many others of the same sort, too numerous to mention, Tertullian defends the Old Testament, by very good answers, as may be seen at large, in his second book against Marcion, where he shows (*u*) the moral laws to be excellent, and certainly derived from God, as it is related by Moses, who was prior to the famous heathen lawgivers, Lycurgus, Solon, &c. and who therefore could borrow from none of them.

SECT. XXXIII. *He mutilated the New Testament, wherever it contained Quotations from the Old.*

THEIR aversion to the Old Testament was indeed so great, that on this account, they mutilated many passages in the new, in those books which they admitted, rejecting (*x*) all which related to the law, and the prophets,

or

(*t*) De isto pluribus retractarem si cum Ethnicis agerem, quanquam et cum hæreticis non multo diversa congressio stet. *Ad. Mar. Lib. 2. c. 27. 474. B. 382. 47.*

(*u*) Veni denique ad inspectionem doctrinarum, disciplinarum, præceptorum, conciliorum quæejus. Dices forsitan hæc etiam humanis legibus determinari. Sed ante Lycurgos et Solonas omnes Moyfes et Deus. Nulla posteritas non a primordiis accipit.—Tamen non a tuo Deo didici Creatorem meum præscribere; non occides, non adulterabis, non furaberis, &c.—Ad hæc innocentia, pu-

dicitiæ, justitiæ et pietatis principalia consultata, accedunt etiam humanitatis præscripta. Non enim injuriæ mutuo excercendæ licentiam sapit, sed in totum cohibendæ violentiæ prospicit, &c. *Ibid. Lib. 2. c. 17, 18. 467. B. C. 377. 1.*

(*x*) Et super hæc id quod est secundum Lucam evangelium circumcidens et omnia quæ sunt de generatione Domini conscripta auferens, et de doctrina sermonum Domini multa auferens in quibus manifestissime conditorem hujus universitatis suum patrem confitens,

SECT. 33. or which were quoted from thence, as plainly foretelling the coming of Jesus Christ, or which spoke of his father as the Creator of the world.

SECT. XXXIV. *He framed Antitheses to show the Opposition of the Law to the Gospel.*

SECT. 34. **T**HIS Creator or God of the Jews, they considered as of a character very different from (*y*) the good God, or the father of our Lord Jesus Christ; and therefore they asserted that Christ came to destroy the law given by him, because it was opposite (*z*) to the gospel. To establish this last point, was the design of those Antitheses, which were framed by (*a*) Marcion, and which Tertullian (*b*) so frequently

fitens, Dominus conscriptus est.—Non evangelium sed particulam Evangelii tradens eis. Similiter autem et Apostoli Pauli epistolas abscidit, auferens quæcunque manifeste dicta sunt ab Apostolo de eo Deo qui mundum fecit, quoniam hic Pater Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et quæcunque ex prophetis memorans apostolus docuit prænuntiantibus adventum Domini.

In quibus manifestissime conditorem, &c. Respicere præcipue videtur hæc verba servatoris, Luc. x. 21. *Confiteor tibi, pater, Domine Cæli et Terræ*, quæ Marcion corruptit demens vocem *Pater*, et omittens *terræ*. *Vid. Grabei notas in hunc Irenæi locum, p. 104. note 5. Ox. 1702.*

(*y*) MEΓ. Εκ τῆς δεικνύται μὴ ὡς ἀγαθὸς ὁ δημιουργός. *Dia. Adv. Mar. sec. 1. p. 23.*

MEΓ. Ἡ ἀγαθὴ ἀρχὴ τῶν χριστιανῶν ἀρχεῖ. *Ibid. sec. 1. p. 4.*

(*z*) MEΓ. Δεικνύω ὅτι ὁ δημιουργός ἀλλὰ ἐνομοθέτης. καὶ ὁ χριστός ἀλλὰ ἐναντία τῆς — Ἐαυτῷ ἔδει ποτε ἐναντιῆσθαι ἔδε ἀντικειῖται ὡς πρὶν ἀντικειῖται τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον τῷ νόμῳ. *Ibid. sec. 1. p. 14.*

MEΓ. Ὅτι ὁ χριστός ἀνέτρεψε τὰ τῷ δημιουργῷ καὶ δεικνύμι ὅτι ἀνέτρεψεν. *Ibid. p. 16.*

MEΓ. Δείξω ὅτι ἠναντιῶται τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον τῷ νόμῳ. *Ibid. p. 23.*

(*a*) Separatio legis et Evangelii proprium et principale opus est Marcionis.—Nam hæc sunt Antitheseis Marcionis, i. e. contrariæ oppositiones quæ conantur discordiam Evangelii cum lege committere, ut ex diversitate sententiarum utriusque instrumenti diversitatem quoque argumentur Deorum. *Ad. Mar. Lib. 1. c. 11. p. 359. 10.*

(*b*) Ceterum ipsas quoque Antitheseis Marcionis cominus cecidissim, si operosiore destructione earum egeret defensio Creatoris, tam boni, quam et judicis.—Compendio interim possum Antitheseis retudisse, gestientes ex qualitatibus ingeniorum, sive legum, sive virtutum discernere, atque ita alienare Christum a Creatore, ut optimum a judice, et mitem a fero, et salutarem ab otioso. *Ad. Mar. Lib. 2. c. 29. p. 476. A. D. p. 382, 3.*

Certe enim totum quod elaboravit etiam Antitheseis præstruendo in hoc cogit ut veteris

quently mentions. Though, as he rightly observes, it would SECT. 35. be no difficult matter to form rival (*c*) Antitheses against him, by showing many glaring contradictions, between one part and another of his opinions. To establish this same point, the contrariety of character between the God of the Jews, and the God of the Christians, and the opposition between the law, and the gospel, is the direct intent of a great part of the objections brought by the Marcionite, in the dialogue ascribed to Origen; (*d*) some of which have already been quoted at large. (*e*) Some others of the more remarkable I shall here transcribe, (*f*) referring only to several of the remaining ones, because they are too many to be all inserted.

But this argument, as Tertullian justly observes (*g*) may be easily refuted, since such contrarieties as he produces, will

teris et Novi Testamenti diversitatem constituat proinde Christum suum a Creatore separaturus ut Dei alterius, alienum legis et prophetarum. *Ibid. Lib. 4. c. 6. p. 506. B. p. 407. 13.*

(*c*) Nunc et de pusillitatibus, et malignitatibus, cæterisque notis, et ipse adversus Marcionem Antitheseis æmulas faciam.—Mutavit sententias suas Deus noster, proinde qua vester, qui enim genus humanum tam fero respexit, eam sententiam mutavit qua tanto ævo non respexit. *Ibid. Lib. 2. c. 28. p. 475. B. C. D. p. 382. 36.*

(*d*) See *sec. 14. of this chap. p. 220. n. (k)* *Sec. 23. p. 234. n. (u)* *Sec. 31. p. 242. n. (i)* *p. 243. n. (o)* *Sec. 32. p. 244. note (f) and sec. 34. p. 246. notes (y) and (z).*

(*e*) ΜΕΓ. Ο Προφητης τῆ Θεῆ τῆς γενεσεως, πολεμῶ συσαντος πρὸς τὸν λαόν, ἀναβας ἐπὶ τὴν κορυφὴν τῆ οὐρᾶς, ἐξέτεινε τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῆς πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, ἵνα πολλὰς τῷ πολεμῷ ἀνέλῃ. Ο δὲ Κυριος

ἡμῶν ἅγιος ὢν, ἐξέτεινε τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῆς, ὅχι το ἀνελθῆναι τῆς ἀνδρωπῆς ἀλλὰ τῆ σωσαι. *Dia. Ad. Mar. sec. 1. p. 19.*

ΜΕΓ. Ο ἐν τῷ νόμῳ Κυριος λέγει· Ἀγαπήσεις τὸν ἀγγαπῶντά σε, καὶ μισήσεις τὸν ἐχθρὸν σε. Ο δὲ Κυριος ἡμῶν, ἀγαθὸς ὢν, λέγει· Ἀγαπάτε τῆς ἐχθρῆς ὑμῶν, καὶ εὐχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν διωκόντων ὑμᾶς. *Ibid. sec. 1. p. 20.*

ΜΕΓ. Ο Προφητης τῆ Θεῆ τῆς γενεσεως, ἵνα πολεμῷ πλείονας ἀνέλῃ, ἐσήσε τὸν ἥλιον, τῆ μὴ δύσαι, μέχρι συντελεσθῇ ἀναίρων τῆς πολέμεντας πρὸς τὸν λαόν· Ο δὲ Κυριος ἀγαθὸς ὢν λέγει, Ο ἥλιος μὴ ἐπιδυετω ἐπὶ τῷ παροργισμῷ ὑμῶν. *Ib. p. 22.*

(*f*) *Vid. Dia. Adv. Mar. sec. 1. p. 24, 25, 28, 29, 30, 32, 36, &c.*

(*g*) Omnem sententiam et omnem paraturam impii atque sacrilegi Marcionis, ad ipsum jam Evangelium ejus provocamus, quod interpolando suum fecit. Et ut fidem instrueret,

SECT. 34. will never prove, that the being who gave the Jewish law, is not the same, with the God of the Christians. For those precepts and injunctions of the ceremonial law, produced by Marcion, as directly opposite to the gospel, were rightly calculated for that people, to whom they were given, though they would be improper for those, who are placed in very different circumstances under the gospel: and this temporary (*b*) diversity, and seeming opposition, only make manifest the wisdom of that God, who suits himself to the different circumstances of things; which very justly require an alteration of conduct.

instrueret, dotem quandam commentatus est illi, opus ex contrarietum oppositionibus Antitheseis cognominatum et ad separationem legis et Evangelii coactum, qua duos Deos dividens, proinde diversos, alterum alterius instrumenti, (vel quod magis usui est dicere) Testamenti, ut exinde Evangelio quoque secundum Antitheseis credendo patrocinaretur. Sed et istas proprio congressu cominus—Cecidissim, si non multo opportunius in ipso et cum ipso Evangelio cui procurant retunderetur, quanquam tam facile est præscriptive occurrere, equidem ut accepto eas faciam, ut rato habeam, ut nobiscum facere dicam, quo magis de cæcitate auctoris sui erubescant nostræ jam Antitheseis adversus Marcionem. Atque adeo confiteor alium ordinem decucurrisse in veteri dispositione apud creatorem, alium in nova apud

Christum. Non nego distare documenta eloquii, præcepta virtutis, legis disciplinas, dum tamen tota diversitas in unum et eundem Deum competat. *Ad. Mar. L. 4. c. 1. p. 501. A. B. C. p. 403. 36.*

(*b*) Aufer titulum Marcionis, et intentionem atque propositum operis ipsius, et nihil aliud præstat, quam demonstrationem ejusdem Dei Optimi et judicis, quia hæc duo in solum Deum competunt. Nam et ipsum studium in eis exemplis opponendi Christum Creatori ad unitatem magis spectat. Quia nec mirum erat *diversitas temporalis* si postea Deus mitior pro rebus edomitis, qui retro austerior pro indomitis. Ita per Antitheseis facilius ostendi potest ordo Creatoris a Christo reformatus. *Ibid. L. 2. c. 29. p. 476. D. p. 383. 7.*

SECT. XXXV. *Marcion received but eleven Books of the New Testament, and of the Gospels only that of Luke, and this mutilated.*

MARCION received only eleven books of the New Testament, and these strangely curtailed, and altered. He divided them into two parts, calling the one the Gospel, (*i*) and the other the Apostolicon. The former contained only one of the four gospels, viz. that of St. Luke, (*k*) and this mutilated, and altered, and even interpolated, in a great variety (*l*) of places. He would not allow it to be

K k

called

(i) ΜΕΓ. Δειξω οτι εν εστι το Ευαγγελιον.
Dial. Con. Mar. sec. 1. p. 12.

MEΓ. τω τω φάλω 8 πίσειω Αποστολική.
ΑΔΑΜ. Προσερεύκε το αποστολικόν ση. *Ibid.* p. 8.

ΜΑΡΚ. τω εμω αποστολικω πειθομαι. ΑΔΑΜ.
Εχω το αποστολικον σε. *Ibid.* p. 47.

ΜΑΡΚ. Ἡμεῖς πλέον τῷ Ευαγγελίῳ, καὶ τῷ
Αποστολικῷ ὡς δεχομένθα. *Ibid.* p. 58.

Αυτας δὲ τας τὴ προειρημενη βιβλως ας μεκτη-
ται μετα χειρας λαβων, το τε παρ αυτων λεγο-
μενον Ευαγγελιον, και Αποστολικον καλημερον. *Epi.*
Adv. Hær. 42. p. 310. C. D.

(k) Μοιω δε κειχρηται τωτω τω χαρακτηρι τω
κατα Ληκαν Ευαγγελιω. *Ibid.* p. 309. D.

Οὗτος ἐκ μετ' τῶν Εὐαγγελίων τοῦ κατὰ Λουκᾶν
ἐδίδασκεν μόνον. *Theo. H. F. L.*, 1. c. 24. p.
210. D.

Nam ex iis commentatoribus quos habemus, Lucam videtur Marcion elegisse quæ cæderet. *Ter. Adv. Mar. L. 4. c. 2. p. 405. 8.*

Itaque de his Marcion flagitandus quod
omissis eis Lucæ potius infliterit. *Ibid.* c. 5.
p. 406, 40.

Et alia multa quæ—a Luca dicta—quibus et Marcion et Valentinus utuntur—Non enim conceditur eis—quædam quidem recipere ex his quæ a Luca dicta sunt—quædam vero refutare. *Iren. Adv. Hær. Lib. 3. c. 14. p. 236. 20. Ox.*

See also *Dia. Con. Marc. sec. 1. from p.*
6-12.

(1) Et super hæc id quod est secundum
Lucam Evangelium circumcidens et omnia
quæ sunt de generatione Domini conscripta
auferens. *Iren. Ad. Hær. L. 1. 27. al. 29.*
p. 104. Ox.

Ελευσομαι δε εις τα υπ αυτη γεγραμμενα, μαλλον δε εραδιωρημενα. ητος γαρ εχει Ευαγγελιον μονον το κατα Ληκαν, περικεκοιμενον απο της αρχης, δια την τε Σωτηρος συλληψιν, και την εσχαρην αυτη παρσιαν. ε μονον δε την αρχην απειτεμεν ο λυμνηναμενος εαυτον ηπερ το Ευαγγελιον, αλλα και τη τελος και των μεσων πολλα περιεκοψε των της αληθειας λογων. αλλα δε παρα τα γεγραμμενα προστεθεικε. *Epi. Adv. Her.* 42. No. 9. 309, C. D.

SECT. 35. called the gospel of St. Luke, (*m*) erasing the name of that Evangelist, from the beginning of his copy. Some of his (*n*) followers considered it, as written partly by Christ himself, and partly by the apostle Paul. Marcion retrenched the first and second chapters entirely, and began his gospel, at the first verse of the third chapter, (*o*) and even read this different from our copies, viz. that in the fifteenth year of Tiberius Cæsar, God descended into Capernaum, a city of Galilee.

SECT. XXXVI. *He rejected the Genealogy and Baptism of our Saviour.*

SECT. 36.

ACCORDING to Irenæus, (*p*) Epiphanius, (*q*) and Theodoret, (*r*) he also rejected the genealogy and baptism of Christ. If we compare this, with a passage of Tertullian

(*m*) Contra Marcion, Evangelio scilicet suo, nullum adscribit auctorem. *Ter. Adv. Mar. Lib. 4. c. 2. p. 405. 3.*

De Titulo quoque funis ducendus est contentiōnis—Ego meum dico verum Marcion suum. *Ibid. c. 4. p. 405. 45.*

(*n*) ΜΕΓ. Δειξω εν ειναι Ευαγγελιον. ΑΔΑΜ: τις εστι ο γραψας το ευαγγελιον τωτο ο εφης ειναι εν; ΜΕΓ. Ο Χριστος. ΑΔΑΜ. αυτος ο κυριος εγραψεν οτι εσταυρωθη και ανεστη τη τριτη ημερα; πτω γραφει. ΜΕΓ. Ο αποστολος Παυλος προσεδηκεν. ΑΔΑΜ. παρην γαρ Παυλος εν τω σταυρωθηναι τον χριστον; ΜΕΓ. αυτος εγραψεν το ευαγγελιον απλως. *Dia. Con. Mar. sec. 1. p. 12.*

Nam et Lucæ digestum Paulo ascribere solent. *Ter. Adv. Mar. Lib. 4. c. 5. p. 406. 39.*

(*o*) Anno quinto decimo principatus Tiberiani proponit Deum descendisse in civitatem Galileæ Capharnaum. *Ter. Adv. Mar. L. 4. c. 7. p. 407. 31.*

Και αρχην τε Ευαγγελιου εταξε ταυτην, εν τω πεντεκαιδεκατω ετει Τιβερίου Καισαρος, και τα εξης. *Epi. Ad. Hær. 42. No. 11. p. 312. A.*

(*p*) Et omnia quæ sunt de generatione Domini conscripta auferens. *Irenæ. Adv. Hær. L. 1. c. 27. al. 29. p. 104. Ox.*

(*q*) Ο μεν γαρ χαριστης τε κατα Ληκαν σημαινει το Ευαγγελιον, ως δε κηρωτηριασαι μητε αρχην εχων, μητε μεσα, μητε τελος, ματις βεβρωμενη υπο πολλων σπητων επεχει τον τροπον. ευδους μεν γαρ εν τη αρχη παντα τα απ αρχης τω Ληκα πεπραγματευμενα, τωτ' εστιν ως λεγει· επειδηπερ πολλοι επεχειρησαν και τα εξης, και τα περι της Ελισαβετ, και τα Αγγελη ευαγγελιζομενη την Μαριαν παρθενον, Ιωαννη τε και Ζαχαριαν και της εν Βεθλεεμ γεννησεως, γενεαλογιας, και της τε Βαπτισματος υποδεσεως. ταυτα παντα περικοψας απεπηδησε. *Epi. Hær. 42. No. 11. p. 311. D. 312. A.*

(*r*) Και την γενεαλογιαν περικοψας τα πλειστα. *Theod. H. F. L. 1. c. 24. p. 210. D.*

Tertullian, (*f*) it seems not unlikely, that he connected that part of the first and second verses of the third chapter, which he retained, with the thirty-first verse (*t*) of the fourth chapter: because in that passage, Tertullian upbraids Marcion with introducing Jesus into the Synagogue, immediately upon his descent from heaven. If this was really the case, then there is some incorrectness in the account given by Epiphanius, of the passages which were omitted, or mutilated, or altered, by Marcion. For he says, he began his gospel (*u*) at the first verse of the third chapter, and gives no particular passage, as altered, or omitted by him, till he comes to the fourteenth verse (*x*) of the fifth chapter. This however according to his own account, is somewhat inaccurate, for in the passage quoted before, (*y*) he himself had said, that he rejected the genealogy, and the baptism of our Saviour; the account of both which is in the latter part of the third chapter. For this reason one may the more readily admit the assertion of Tertullian, in the sense above explained.

(*f*) Jam eum prophetatum incipimus agnoscere, ostendentem in primo ingressu venisse, non ut Legem et Prophetas dissolveret, sed ut potius adimpleret. Hoc enim Marcion ut additum erasit. Sed frustra negabit Christum dixisse, quod statim fecit ex parte. Prophetiam enim interim de loco adimplevit. *De caelo statim ad Synagogam. Ter. Adv. Mar. L. 4. c. 7. p. 408. 1.*

Et tamen quomodo in Synagogam potuit admitti, tam repentinus, tam ignotus, cujus nemo adhuc certus, de tribu de populo, de domo. *Ibid. p. 409. 10.*

(*t*) Anno quinto decimo principatus, &c. Initium Evangelii hujus sic inchoavit Mar-

cion relictis capitibus præcedentibus, junctoque principio hoc capituli tertii cum commate 31^{mo} capituli 4^{ti}. *Millii. Test. in Locum.*

(*u*) *Vide p. 250. note (o)*

(*x*) Ἐντεῦθεν ἔν ὅτῳ ἀρχεται, καὶ ἡ καθ' εἰρημὸν πάλιν ἐπιμένει, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ὡς προεῖπον παρακοπῇ, τὰ δὲ προεῖδησιν ἀνω κατῶ, ἡ οὐδὲν βαδίζων, ἀλλὰ ἐρραδιερρηγμένως πάντα περινοσφυῶν, καὶ ἐστίν, ἀπελθὼν δεῖξον σεαυτὸν τῷ Ἰέρει, καὶ προστενεύγει περὶ τῆς καθαρῆς σου, καὶ ὡς προσεταξέε Μωϋσῆς. ἵνα ἡ μαρτυρίαν τῆς τοῦ υἱοῦ, ἀνδ' ἡ εἶπεν ὁ Σωτὴρ, εἰς μαρτυρίαν αὐτοῖς. *Epi. Har. 42. p. 312. B. See Luke 5. 14.*

(*y*) *See p. 250. note (q)*

SECT. XXXVII. *He also rejected the History of the Temptation.*

SECT. 37. **I**F Marcion expunged the history of the temptation, it might be on the same account, that some others rejected the lamentation of Christ over Jerusalem, and the relation of his agony in the garden and of the angel strengthening him; as we are informed by Epiphanius (z) and (a) Hilary. They did this lest they should attribute too much (b) of human weakness to our Saviour.

That the Marcionites did not admit the history of the temptation, seems very probable, from a passage in Epiphanius (c) who gives an account of a dispute he had with a certain follower of Marcion. When he produced this passage of scripture, to prove that Christ was a real man, he received from him the following answer, "that it was impossible for Satan to tempt Christ, who was truly God, and according to the opinion of Epiphanius, his Lord and Sovereign."

The

(z) Και εκλαυσε κειται εν τω κατα λακων Ευαγγελιω εν τοις αδιορθωτοις αντιγραφοις. *Epi. in Ancor. n. 31. Copies which have not been corrected.*

See Fa. Simon's Criti. Hist. of the N. T. p. 1. c. 12. p. 111. Vide etiam Mill. N. T. in locum.

(a) Nec sane ignorandum nobis est, et in Græcis et in Latinis codicibus complurimis vel de adveniente Angelo vel de sudore sanguineo nihil scriptum reperiri. *Hil. Lib. 10. de Trin.*

(b) Ορθοδοξοι δε αφειλοντο το ρητον, φοβηδεντες και μη ιησαντες αυτη το τελος και το ισχυροτατον. *Epi. Ibid.*

Hæc erasa videntur a quibusdam, qui verebantur Christo tribuere tam insignia humanæ infirmitatis argumenta. *Jansen. Gand. Com. Evan. c. 137.*

(c) Και γαρ και ποτε διαλεγόμενος τισι των αυτη μαθητων Μαρκιωνιστη τινι, και λεγων ως εν τω Ευαγγελιω εχει, οτι παρελαβεν αυτον εις την ερημον το πνευμα πειρασθηναι υπο τη διαβολη, ηκασα παρ αυτη, οτι πως ηδυνατο Σατανας του οντα Θεον, και μειζονα αυτη υπαρχοντα, και κυριον αυτη, ως υμεις λεγετε, πειρασαι, τον Ιησουν τη αυτη δεσποτην. *Epi. Har. 42. p. 342. D. A. Ελεγχ.*

The other story contained in this fourth chapter, of Christ's going into the synagogue at Nazareth, and reading out of the prophet Esaias, was also rejected. It appeared to them too favourable to the Jewish religion: and because it established the truth of this prophet's prediction; for our Saviour says, "this day, is this scripture fulfilled in your ears." There can therefore be no doubt, but they expunged this, and all after, to the end of the 30th verse.

SECT. XXXVIII. *An Account of many other Alterations made by him in St. Luke's Gospel.*

WE will proceed with the account as given us by Epiphanius, of the alterations, or omissions, or interpolations, which Marcion and his followers made in St. Luke's gospel. It appears from the passage before quoted, (*d*) that where we read, *for a testimony unto them*: Luke v. 14, Marcion read, *that this may be a testimony unto you*. In verse 24th, he transposed (*e*) the words *ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς*, making them follow *αμαρτίας*, instead of *ἀνθρώπων*, as they do in our present copies: this is so trifling a variation, that it probably arose rather from his finding it so in some copy, than from any designed alteration. The next passage quoted by Epiphanius, (*f*) chapter vi. 5. is read both here, and in the repetition of it prefixed (*g*) to his refutation of Marcion from this text, exactly as in our present copies. The reason of his introducing this text could not be, to point out a variation in Marcion's gospel,

(*d*) See p. 251. n. (x). Epiphanius in his refutation of Marcion, as drawn from this passage, seems to have read *το δῶρον* in his copy after *προσενεγχε*. which however is not in our present copies. *Epi. Ib. p. 322. D.*

(*e*) — Ο υἱος τῶ ἀνθρώπου ἀφιεναι ἀμαρτίας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. *Epi. Ibid. 312. B. γ.*

(*f*) *Epi. Ibid. 312. B. δ.*

(*g*) *Epi. Ibid. 323. B. Σχολ. γ.*

gospel, (*b*) but from hence to prove, that the sabbath, an institution of the God of the Jews, was not opposite to what Christ came to establish; and that his calling himself the son of man, was on account of his having assumed human flesh. These are the only points which Epiphanius asserts against Marcion in his refutation of him, following this passage. (*i*)

I would here observe once for all, that there are many passages in Epiphanius, which Marcion read the same, as we do in our present copies. Though perhaps upon a comparison with the present readings, some slight variation may appear, either in his making use of other words with the same meaning, or in placing them in a different order. This arose partly from Epiphanius's quoting them by memory, and partly from his giving an abridgment of these passages. The reason of his introducing these, in which there is no variation from our present copies, was as in the instance just produced, to found arguments on them, (*k*) against the tenets of the Marcionites.

The

(*b*) δύο εἰδὺς ἐν ταύτῳ, καὶ υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου, καὶ κυρίου Σαββάτου αὐτὸν ὁ Σωτὴρ ὁμολογεῖ, διδασκῶν ἵνα μὴ τὸ Σαββάτον ἀλλοτρίον τῆς αὐτῆς ποιήσεως νομιζέται, καὶ τὸ ἰσχυρὸν υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ἀπὸ τῆς εἰσαρχῆς παρρησίας κληθῇ. *Epi. Ibid.* 523. B. C. Ελεγ. γ.

(*i*) There are two MSS. mentioned by Dr. Mill, which have the following clause inserted between the 5th and 6th verses. Τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ θεασαμένος τινὰ ἐργαζόμενον τῷ Σαββάτῳ, εἶπεν αὐτῷ, ἀνθρώπε, εἰ μὲν οἶδας τι ποιεῖς, μακάριος εἰ, εἰ δὲ μὴ οἶδας, ἐπιματαράτος καὶ παραβατῆς εἰ τῇ νόμῳ. *Vid. Millii. Test. in Locum.* There can be no doubt, but these words are spurious; notwithstanding

these two MSS. are said to be very antient, for they are inconsistent with our Saviour's purpose, and contrary to his usual manner. Grotius therefore thinks they were added by some Marcionite. But it is certain, they were not in the Marcionite gospel in the time of Epiphanius, because he takes no notice of them, as he undoubtedly would if they had been there, since he mentions the very place. Neither is it easy to see, how they will serve the cause of the Marcionites. *Vid. Groti. in Loc.*

(*k*) See at large his list of the passages of scripture, and his scholia and refutations drawn from them. *Epi. Ibid. p. 311--374.*

The fourth instance of an alteration is from Luke vi. 17. where Marcion read *εν αυτοις* instead of *μετ αυτων*. (l) The sense however is here the same, with one particle, as with the other: for *εν* may be only a Hebraism, and may signify with, as well as *μετ*.

In chap. viii. 19, Marcion expunged (m) *η μητης αυτη, και οι αδελφοι αυτη* from this verse. Tertullian speaks in such a manner, as would lead one to think, that Marcion had made an addition to the gospel of St. Luke, by inserting from the gospel of Matthew that answer of our Saviour which we find related by Matthew, chap. xii. 48, "who is my mother, and who are my brethren?" For he represents Marcion, (n) as well as all (o) the other heretics, who deny the nativity, as making use of these words, for their most common and favourite argument. But Marcion might use these words against those who allowed the authenticity of Matthew's gospel, without inserting them in his gospel, or Tertullian might quote by memory, and think that to be in Luke, which was only in Matthew, as he has done at least in three instances. (p)

Chap.

(l) *Κατεβη μετ αυτων, εχει, κατεβη εν αυτοις. Epi. Ibid. 312. B. d.* In our present copies it is *καταβας*.

(m) *Epi. Ibid. 1. B.*

(n) Venimus ad constantissimum argumentum omnium qui domini nativitatem in controversiam deferunt. Ipse inquit contestatur, se non esse natum, dicendo, quæ mihi mater et qui mihi fratres. Ita semper hæretici, &c. *Adv. Mar. Lib. 4. c. 19. p. 531. D. vel. p. 423. 43. Fr. 1597.*

(o) Sed quoties de nativitate contenditur, omnes qui respuunt eam—ipsum Deum volunt negare esse natum quod dixerit, quæ mihi mater et qui mihi fratres. Audiat igitur et Appelles quid jam responsum sit a nobis Marcioni.—Licet propterea abstule-

runt hæreses ista de Evangelio, quod et creditum patrem ejus Joseph fabrum, et matrem Mariam et fratres et sorores ejus optime notos sibi dicebant. *De Carne Christi. c. 7. p. 364, 365. vel. 302. 9. Fr. 1597.*

(p) Non ut legem et prophetas dissolveret sed ut potius adimpleret. Hoc enim Marcion ut additum erasit. *Adv. Mar. L. 4. c. 7. p. 408. 2. Fr. 1597.* But this text is not in Luke but in Matt. v. 17.

Detrahe voces Christi Mei res loquentur. Ecce venit in synagogam certe ad oves perditas Israelis. *Ibid. p. 408. 7.* This text also is not in Luke, but in Matt. xv. 24.

For the 3d instance, see *sec. 253. p. 70. note (d.)*

Chap. ix. 40. is read (*q*) somewhat more concisely by Marcion, than in our present copies; but the sense is fully preserved: "I besought thy disciples, but they could not cast him out; and he said unto them, O faithless generation, how long shall I suffer you."

In chap. x. 21. he omitted (*r*) the first *πατερ*, and the words *και της γης*, that he might not allow Christ to call his father the lord of earth, or this world. He retained *πατερ* in the latter part of the verse.

In chap. xi. 29. he omitted the last words of that verse, concerning the sign of Jonas the prophet. (*f*) He likewise left out all the 30th, 31st, and 32d verses. In verse 42d, he read *κλησιν* vocation, (*t*) instead of *κρισιν* judgment. The instance from verse 47, (*u*) is introduced not on account of any variation, but to found an argument thereon, in favour of the Law and the Old Testament. He rejected out of his copy (*x*) the 49th, 50th, and 51st verse of this chapter, because it related to the prophets, and so clearly established their authority. He entirely omitted (*y*) the 6th verse of the 12th chapter. In the 8th verse, (*z*) he read before God, instead of

(*q*) Εδεδηθη των μαθητων σε. ειχε δε παρα το, εκ εδουνησαν εκβαλλειν αυτο. και προς αυτης, ω γενεα απιστος εως ποτε ανεξομαι υμων. *Epi. Ib. p. 313. B. ιθ.*

(*r*) Ινα μη πατερα αυτου υποδειξης Μαρκιων, τον χριστον λεγοντα τον δημιουργον. *Epi. Ibid. 329. B. Ελεγ. κβ.*

(*f*) Περικεκοπται το περι Ιωνα το Προφητη. ειχε γαρ η γενεα αυτη, σημειον ο δοθησεται αυτη. εκ ειχε δε περι Νινευη και Βασιλισσης Νοτι και Σαλομονος. *Ibid. 313. D. κε.*

(*t*) *Ibid. p. 313. D. κξ.*

(*u*) εκ αλλοτριου αυτου ησαν οι προφηται, αλλα

δουλοι και προετοιμασαι της ενσαρκου αυτου παρσιας. κ. τ. λ. *Ibid. p. 332. D. Ελεγ. κξ.*

(*x*) εκ ειχε δια τωτο ειπεν η Σοφια τω Θεω αποστω εις αυτους Προφητας, και περι αιματος Ζαχαριου, και Αβελ και των Προφητων οτι εκζητησεται εκ της γενεας ταυτης. *Epi. Ibid. p. 313. D. κη.*

(*y*) εκ ειχε δε εκι πεντε γενηδια. κ. τ. λ. *Ibid. p. 314. Α. κδ.*

(*z*) Αντι του, ομολογησει ενωπιον των αγγελων του Θεου, ενωπιον του Θεου λεγει. *Ibid. 314. Α. λ.*

of before the angels of God. He seems (*a*) to have left out the whole 28th verse. He expunged *υμων* (*b*) from the 30th and 32d verses, reading only *πατερ*. In the 38th verse, instead of the (*c*) second or third watch, he read the evening watch. In the 46th and 50th verses, (*d*) though quoted by Epiphanius, there is no variation. He entirely (*e*) omitted the first five verses of the 13th chapter. In the 28th verse of the same chapter, where we read, When ye shall see Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and all the prophets in the kingdom of God, and you *yourselves* thrust out; he read (*f*) by altering, adding, and transposing, When ye shall see all the just in the kingdom of God, and you yourselves rejected, and bound without, there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth. He likewise (*g*) omitted all the remaining verses of this chapter. He excluded from his gospel, (*b*) all of the 15th chapter after the 10th verse; in which was contained the parable of the prodigal son. In the 10th verse of the

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17th

(*a*) *υκ* *εχει* *το*, ο *Θεος*, *αμφιεννυσι* *τον* *χορτον*.
Ibid. p. 314. *A.* λα.

(*b*) *Αντι* *τη* ο *πατερ* *υμων*, ο *πατερ* *ειχεν*. *Ib.*
314. *B.* λδ.

(*c*) *Αντι* *τη* *δευτερα*, η *τρητη* *φυλακη*, *ειχεν*
εσπερινην *φυλακην*. *Ibid.* 314. *B.* λε.

(*d*) *Ibid.* 314. *B.* λς. λζ.

(*e*) *Ην* *παρακεκομμενον* *απο* *τη*, *ηλθον* *τινες*
αναγγελλοντες *αυτω* *περι* *των* *Γαλιλαιων* *ων* *το*
αιμα *συνεμιξε* *Πιλατος* *μετα* *των* *δυσιων* *αυτων*,
εως *οτι* *λεγει* *περι* *των* *εν* *τω* *Σιλωαμ* *δεκα* *οκτω*
αποθανοντων *εν* *τω* *πυργω*, *και* *οτι* *μη* *μεταιοσητε*.
και *εως* *της* *παραβολης* *της* *συκης*, *περι* *ης* *ειπεν*
ο *γεωργος*, *οτι* *σκαπιω* *και* *βαλλω* *κοπρια* *και* *εαν*
μη *ποιηση*, *εκκοψου*. *Ibid.* 314. *C.* λη. *et* p. 336.
B. C. Ελεγ. λη.

(*f*) *παρακοψε* *παλιν* *τοτε* *οφισθε*· *Αβρααμ*,
η *τ.* *λ.*—*αντι* *δε* *τῆς* *εποιοσης*. *οτε* *παντας* *της*

δικαιης *ιδητε* *εν* *τη* *βασιλεια* *τη* *Θεου*, *υμας* *δε*
εμβαλλομενης. *εποιησε* *δε* *κρατουμενης* *εξω*. *και*
εκει *εστι* *ο* *κλαυθμος* *και* *ο* *βρυγμος* *των* *οδοντων*.
Ibid. 314. *D.* μ.

(*g*) *Παρακοψε* *παλιν* *το*· *ηξυσιν* *απο* *ανατολων*
και *ανακληθησονται* *εν* *τη* *βασιλεια*. *και* *το*, *οι*
εσχατοι *εσονται* *πρωτοι*. *και* *το*, *προσηλθον* *οι*
φαραισαιοι *λεγοντες* *εξελθε* *και* *πορευθι*, *οτι* *Ηρωδης*
σε *θελει* *αποκτειναι*. *και* *το*· *ειπε*, *πορευθεντες*
ειπατε *τη* *αλωπεκι* *ταυτη*. *εως* *οτι* *ειπε*· *η* *ενδε-*
χεται *προφητην* *απολεσθαι* *εξω* *Ιερουσαλημ*. *και*
το *Ιερουσαλημ*, *Ιερουσαλημ*, *η* *αποκτεινησα* *της*
προφητας, *και* *λιθοβολησα* *της* *απεσταλμενης*.—
κ. *τ.* *λ.* *Ibid.* 314, 315. *D. A.* μα. *Vide*
p. 337. *C. D.*

(*h*) *Παλιν* *απεκοψε* *την* *παραβολην* *πασαν* *των*
δυο *υιων*, *τη* *ειληφοτος* *το* *μερος* *των* *υπαρχοντων*,
και *τη* *αλλη*. *Ibid.* p. 315. *A.* μβ.

SECT. 38.

17th chapter, he omitted (*i*) all from the word say, to the end of the verse. He made several alterations and expunged (*k*) many things from the story of the ten lepers, particularly he left out part of the 12th, the whole 13th verses, and altered the 14th, reading thus, There met him ten lepers, and he sent them away saying, show yourselves to the priest—After this he inserted a clause from cap. iv. 27, That there were many lepers in the days of Eliseus the prophet, and none of them was cleansed, but Naaman the Syrian. It is also probable, from the manner in which (*l*) Epiphanius expresseth himself, that he mutilated and altered other parts of this story.

In the 19th verse of the 18th chapter, he added the word (*m*) father; and in the 20th verse, (*n*) he changed thou knowest into I know.

He entirely omitted (*o*) the 31st, 32d, and 33d verses of this same chapter, in which our blessed Saviour declares that the things foretold by the prophets concerning his sufferings, death, and resurrection, should be all fulfilled. He expunged nineteen verses out of this same chapter (*p*) from the end of the 27th to the beginning of the 47th, containing the history of those things which were transacted near Bethpage, of Christ's

(*i*) Παρεκοψε το· λεγετε οτι αχρειοι δελοι εσμεν· ο ωφειλομεν ποιησαι πεποιηκαμεν. *Ibid.* 315. B. μζ.

(*k*) Οτε συνητησαν οι δεκα λεπροι. απεκοψε δε πολλα και εποιησε· απεσειλεν αυτους λεγων· δειξατε εαυτους τοις Ιερευσι. και αλλα αντ' αλλων εποιησε λεγων· οτι πολλοι λεπροι ησαν εν ημεραις Ελισσαις τη προφητη και εκ εκαθαρισθη ει μη Ναμαν ο Συρος. *Ibid.* 315. B. C. μη.

(*l*) Και αλλα αντι αλλων εποιησε. *Ibid.*

(*m*) Εις εφ' αγαθος, προσεδηκε το, οτι ο Πατερ. *Ibid.* 315. C. V. *Vide etiam Dia. Con. Mar. p. 3. init.*

(*n*) Αντι τη· τας εντολας οιδας, λεγει τας εντολας οιδα. *Epi. ubi supra.*

(*o*) Παρεκοψε το· παραλαβων της δωδεκα ελεγεν· ιδε αναβαινομεν εις Ιερουσολυμα και τελεσθησεται παντα τα γεγραμμενα εν τοις προφηταις περι τε υιου τε ανθρωπου. παροδοθησεται, αποκτανθησεται, και τη τριτη ημερα αναστησεται, ολα ταυτα παρεκοψε. *Ibid.* p. 315. D. ιβ.

(*p*) Παρεκοψε το κεφαλαιον της ονθ, και Βηθφαγη, και το περι της πολεως, και τη Ιερη οτι γεγραμμενον ην ο οικος μη οικος προσευχης· και ποιειτε αυτον σπηλαιον λησων. *Ibid.* p. 315. 6. γγ.

Christ's triumphant entry into Jerusalem, of his weeping over the city, and of his thrusting those out of the temple, who bought and sold therein. In the 20th chapter, he omitted (*q*) ten verses from the end of the 8th verse to the end of the 18th, in which are related, the parable of the vineyard, and the reflections he made on it; to the chief Priests and Scribes. He rejected also (*r*) the 37th and 38th verses of this same chapter, in which there is a reference to Moses. Marcion also (*s*) erased the 18th verse of the 21st chapter from his copy, and the 21st and 22d verses of the same chapter, on account of the concluding sentence (*t*) of the 22d, that all things which are written may be fulfilled. The 16th verse of the 22d chapter, (*u*) was entirely omitted by him, as also (*x*) the 35th, 36th, and 37th, and the 50th and 51st verses (*y*) of the same, which seems to make it probable, that the 38th verse, which contains what the disciples said to our Lord, that they had two swords, and the 49th verse, in which is inserted a question put by the Disciples to our Lord, concerning using the sword, were in like manner omitted: because otherwise parts of incomplete sentences would be introduced, and the connection destroyed. In the 2d verse of the 23d chapter, Marcion added two clauses, viz. after the words

L 1 2

perverting

(*q*) Πάλιν ἀπέκοψε (τὴν) τὰ τῷ ἀμπελωνος
τῷ ἐκδομένῳ γεωργοῖς· καὶ τὸ, τί ἐν ἐστὶ τὸ, λῖθον
ὃν ἀπεδοκίμασαν οἱ οἰκοδομῆντες. *Ibid.* 316. *A.*
18.

(*r*) Ἀπέκοψε τὸ, ὅτι δὲ ἐγείρονται οἱ νεκροί,
Μωυσὴς ἐμνήστε περὶ τῆς βατῆ καθὼς λέγει Κύριον
τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἀβραάμ, καὶ Ἰσαάκ, καὶ Ἰακώβ· Θεὸς
ἐστὶ ζώντων, καὶ οὐκ νεκρῶν. *Ibid.* 316. *A.* 19.

(*s*) Πάλιν παρέκοψε τὸ, θρῆξ ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς
ὡμῶν ὃ μὴ ἀπολήται. *Ibid.* 316. *B.* 17.

(*t*) Πάλιν παρέκοψε ταῦτα, τότε οἱ ἐν τῇ

Ἰουδαίᾳ—διὰ τὸ ἐπιφερόμενον εἰς πληρωθῆ πάντα
τὰ γεγραμμένα. *Ibid.* 316. *B.* 18.

(*u*) Παρέκοψε τὸ, λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν:—κ. τ. λ.
Ibid. 316. *C.* 17.

(*x*) Παρέκοψε τὸ, ὅτε ἀπεγείλα ὑμᾶς μὴ τινος
υψήσατε; καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. διὰ τὸ, καὶ τὸτο τὸ
γεγραμμένον δεῖ τελεσθῆναι, τὸ, καὶ μετὰ ἀνομιῶν
ἐλογισθῆ. *Ibid.* 316. 18.

(*y*) Παρέκοψε τὸ ἐποίησε Πέτρος ὅτε ἐπάταξε,
καὶ ἀφείλετο τὸ 18. *Ibid.* 316. *D.* 17.

pervverting the nation, he inserted, (x) and destroying the law and the prophets: and after the words forbidding to give tribute unto Cæsar, he added, (a) and perverting the women and children. He also erased (b) the 4th verse of this chapter from his copy. In the 24th chapter, he (c) omitted that part of the conference between our Saviour, and the two disciples going to Emmaus, which related to the prediction of his sufferings, and which is contained in the 26th and 27th verses. These two verses were wholly expunged by him, and he changed the words in the end of the 25th, ελαλησαν οι προφηται, into ελαλησα υμιν.

These are the alterations according to Epiphanius (d) which Marcion made in the gospel of St. Luke.

Dr.

(x) Προσθηκετο μετα τωτο, τωτον ευρομεν διαφρεφοντα το εθνος, και καταλυοντα τον Νομον, και τας Προφητας. *Epi. Ibid.* 316. C. ξδ.

(a) Προσθηκεται μετα το, κελευοντα φοβης μη θηκει, και αποφρεφοντα τας γυναικας, και τα τεκνα. *Ibid.* 317. A. ο.

(b) Παρεκοψε το, σημερον μετ' εμω εση εν τω Παράδεισω. *Ibid.* 317. A. οβ.

(c) Παρεκοψε το ειρημειον προς Κλεοπαν και τον αλλον, οτε συνηκτησεν αυτοις, το' ω ανοητοι και βραδεις τη πιστευειν επι πασιν, ος ελαλησαν οι προφηται· ηχι ταυτα εδει παθειν; και αντι δε τω, εφ' ος ελαλησαν οι Προφηται, εφ' ος ελαλησα υμιν. ελεγκεται δε οτι οτε εκλασε τον αρτον, απεωχθησαν οι οφθαλμοι, και επεγνωσαν. *Ibid.* 317. B. C. οζ.

(d) Tertullian says, (*Adv. Mar. Lib.* 4. c. 42. p. 573. A. 450. 30. Fr. 1597.) that Marcion erased the passage, which gives an account of the parting of the raiment of our Saviour among the foldiers,—*Vestitum plane ejus a militibus divisum, partim forte concessum, Marcion abstulit.* But the reason

which he assigns for it, viz. respiciens Psalmi prophetiam, shews, that in this, as well in two or three other instances, where he has accused Marcion of altering passages, his memory deceived him, by taking that to be in Luke, which was only in Matthew: for the reference to the text in the Psalms is only given in Matthew, chap. xxvii. 35. Epiphanius has quoted this very passage, Luke xxiii. 34, and founded on it the following argument, &c. against Marcion, which would have been inconsistent with truth and propriety had these words been erased. Δοξα τω ελεημονι Θεω τω συνδησαντι σε τα αρεματα, ω Φαραω Μαρκιων—πως ηκ εφυγες το μεγα τωτο ρητον; πως ηκ επιχειρησας κρυψαι την μεγαλην ταυτην πραγματιαν; meaning the whole transaction concerning the going to Calvary, the crucifixion, the parting the garments, and the obscuration of the sun. All which circumstances are particularly specified. *Epi. Ibid.* p. 317. A. p. 347. B. Σχολ: οα. Ελεγ: οα.

Dr. Mill says, (*e*) that Marcion expunged the story about Peter's wife's mother, contained in 38th and 39th of the 4th chapter. By the mark which he puts before the 37th verse, one would naturally conclude, he meant that the 37th verse also was expunged. He gives no authority for this. Whether he grounds it on Tertullian's omitting to quote this, when he has quoted every circumstance mentioned in that chapter after the 31st verse, I know not. SECT. 38.

S E C T. XXXIX. *A sufficient Number of Texts
remaining to confute his Errors.*

U P O N an impartial review of these alterations, some appear to be trifling, others might arise from the various readings of different copies; but many of them are undoubtedly designed perversions, intended to countenance, or at least not directly contradict those absurd principles, which he and his followers espoused. There were however a sufficient number of passages left by them in their copies, as appears from the refutations of their doctrine by Epiphanius, to establish the reality of the flesh and blood of Christ, and to prove that the God of the Jews was his father, and a being of consummate goodness. Tertullian indeed observes, that Marcion (*f*) did purposely avoid erasing all those passages which SECT. 39.

(*e*) Historiam hanc de Petri socru fanata amputavit Marcion. *Millii Testa. in locum.*

See also *Ter. Adv. Mar. Lib. 4. c. 7, 8. p. 408, 9.*

(*f*) Et Marcion quædam contraria sibi,

illa credo industria eradere de Evangelio suo noluit, ut ex his quæ eradere potuit, nec erasit, illa quæ erasit, aut negetur erasisse, aut merito erasisse dicatur. *Ter. Adv.*

Mar. L. 4. c. 43. p. 451. 36. Franck. 1597.

SECT. 39. which made against him, that he might, with the greater confidence, deny his having erased any, or at least, that what he had omitted, was for very good reasons.

SECT. XL. *The Catholic Christians asserted the Antiquity of the unmutilated Gospel.*

SECT. 40.

TO show the un-authenticity of these alterations, omissions, additions, and corruptions; the catholic christians (*g*) asserted, that their copies of Luke's gospel, were more antient than Marcion's; and (*b*) maintained the genuineness and integrity of the unmutilated gospel, in opposition

(*g*) Sed enim Marcion nactus epistolam Pauli ad Galatas, etiam ipsos Apostolos fuggillantibus, ut non recto pede incedentes ad veritatem Evangelii, simul et accusantis Pseudapostolos quosdam pervertentes Evangelium Christi, connititur ad destruendum statum eorum Evangeliorum, quæ propria et sub Apostolorum nomine eduntur, vel etiam apostolicorum, ut scilicet fidem, quam illis adimit, suo conferat. *Ter. Ibid. c. 3. p. 503. C. vel. p. 405. 23. Fr. 1597.*

See this passage translated and explained at large in *Credib. P. 2. vol. 2. c. 27. p. 575. n. C.*

Ego meum dico verum; Marcion suum. Ego Marcionis affirmo adulteratum; Marcion meum. Quis inter nos determinabit, nisi temporis ratio, ei præscribens auctoritatem, quod antiquius reperietur, et ei præjudicans vitiationem, quod posterius revincetur?—Alioquin quam absurdum, ut si nostrum antiquius probaverimus, Marcionis vero posterius, et nostrum ante videatur falsum, quam haberit de veritate materiam, et Marcionis ante credatur emulationem a nostro expertum quam est editum, et postremo id verius existimetur, quod est ferius post tot ac tanta jam opera at-

que documenta christianæ religionis seculo edita, quæ edi utique non potuissent sine Evangelii veritate id est ante Evangelii veritatem? Quod ergo pertinet ad Evangelium interim Lucæ—Adeo antiquius Marcione est, quod est secundum nos, ut et ipse illi Marcion aliquando crediderit.—Certe Antitheses non modo fatentur Marcionis sed et præferunt.—Si enim id Evangelium quod Lucæ refertur ipsum est quod Marcion per Antitheses suas arguit—utique non potuisset arguere, nisi quod invenerat.—Emendatio culpam non antecedit. Itaque dum emendat utrumque confirmat, et nostrum anterius, id emendans quod invenit, et id posterius, quod de nostri emendatione constituens suum et novum fecit. *Ter. Ibid. c. 4. p. 504. C. D. vel. p. 405. 406. Fr. 1597.*

(*b*) In summa, si constat id verius quod prius, id prius quod ab initio, id ab initio quod ab apostolis: pariter utique constabit id esse ab apostolis traditum quod apud ecclesias Apostolorum fuerit sacrosanctum. Videamus; quod lac a Paulo Corinthii hauserint; ad quam regulam Galatæ sint recorrecti; quid legant Philipenses, Thessalonicensis, Ephesii; quid etiam Romani de

sition to that, which was curtailed and altered by him. The whole of Epiphanius's work, to which I have so often referred, proves, that the same thing was asserted in his time. This, joined to the last quoted passage of Tertullian, in which he asserts the reception of the unmutilated gospel, from the very times of the apostles, gives a continued proof of the authenticity and integrity of this sacred book. SECT. 40.

SECT. XLI. *Marcion rejected the Acts of the Apostles.*

MARCION did not admit the Acts of the Apostles, into the canon of his New Testament. This appears from Epiphanius, (*i*) who says, his New Testament consisted of an Evangelium or Gospel, and an Apostolicon. The Evangelium, as before observed, contained (*j*) only St. Luke's gospel. The Apostolicon (*l*) consisted of ten of the (*k*) epistles of St. Paul. These two books (*m*) were the only ones SECT. 41.

de proximo sonent, quibus Evangelium et Petrus et Paulus sanguine quoque suo signatum reliquerunt. Habemas et Joannis alumnas ecclesias. Nam et si Apocalypsim ejus Marcion respuit, ordo tamen Episcoporum ad originem recens, in Joannem stabit auctorem, sic et ceterarum generositas recognoscitur. Dico itaque apud illas, nec solas jam Apostolicas, sed apud universas quæ illis de societate sacramenti confæderantur id Evangelium Lucæ ab initio editionis suæ stare quod cum maxime tuemur: Marcionis vero plerisque nec notum, nullis autem notum ut non eo damnatum. *Ter. Ibid. c. 5. p. 505. B. p. 406. 24. Fr. 1597.*

(*i*) *Vide sec. 35. p. 249. note (i).*

(*j*) *Ibid. note (k).*

(*k*) Μοιῶν δὲ κεχρηται τὸ τῷ τοῦ χαρακτὸς τῶν κατὰ Λουκᾶν Ευαγγελίῳ. ἔχει δὲ καὶ ἐπιστολὰς παρ' αὐτῶν τε ἀγίων ἀποστόλων δέκα, αἷς μοναῖς κεχρηται. *Epiph. Hær. 42. No. 9. p. 309. D.*

(*l*) Nicephorus Callisti in his Ecclesiastical History (*l. 4. c. 28.*) says, that he received only nine of St. Paul's epistles, and those mutilated in very many places. But so late an authority is of no weight against the express testimony of Tertullian and Epiphanius.

(*m*) Ταύταις δὲ ταῖς δυοῖν βιβλοῖς κεχρηται. *Epi. Ibid. No. 9. p. 309. D.*

αὐτὰς δὲ τὰς τε προειρημένους βίβλους, αἷς κεχρηται μετὰ χειρὸς λαβὼν, τὸ τε παρ' αὐτῷ λεγόμενον Ευαγγέλιον, καὶ Ἀποστολικὸν καλεσμένον. *Epi. Ibid. No. 10. p. 310. C.*

SECT. 41. ones which he looked upon as canonical. The Acts of the Apostles is clearly excluded from his catalogue of authentic books, as given by Epiphanius. The same thing appears from the more antient authority of Tertullian, who begins his 5th book against Marcion, (*n*) with showing the absurdity of his conduct, in rejecting the history and Acts of the Apostles, and yet receiving St. Paul, as the chief of the apostles, whose name is never mentioned in the gospel with the other apostles. Especially since the (*o*) account given by Paul himself in the 1st and 2d chapters of Galatians, confirms the account which we have in Acts. But the reason why he rejected this book, is, as Tertullian (*p*) says, very evident, since from it, we can plainly show, that the God of the Christians, and the Creator, or God of the Jews was the same being; and that Christ was sent by him, and no by other.

The arguments against Marcion which follow in this fifth book, are all drawn from only those ten epistles of St. Paul, which are the same with those mentioned by Epiphanius, and placed exactly in the same order, except that the epistle to Philemon is placed last in (*q*) Tertullian, and that to the Philippians

(*n*) Apostoli quoque Pauli originem a Marcione desidero, novus aliquis discipulus, nec ullius alterius auditor—quum is mihi affirmatur apostolus quem in albo apostolorum apud Evangelium non deprehendo. *Ter. Adv. Mar. L. 5. c. 1. p. 576. A. vel. 458. 11. Fr. 1597.*

Hæc figurarum sacramenta si tibi displicent certe acta apostolorum hunc mihi ordinem Pauli tradiderunt a te quoque non negandum. *Ibid.*

(*o*) Exinde decurrens ordinem conversionis suæ de persecutore in Apostolum, scripturam actorum apostolicorum confirmat,

apud quam ipsa etiam epistolæ istius materia recognoscitur. *Ibid. Lib. 5. c. 2. p. 578. B. vel. 455. 3.*

(*p*) Quod si et ex hoc congruunt, Paulo apostolorum acta, cur ea respuatis jam apparet, ut Deum scilicet non alium prædicantia quam creatorem, nec Christum alterius quam Creatoris. *Ibid. p. 578. C. vel. 455. 7.*

(*q*) Soli huic epistolæ brevis sua profuit, &c. *Ter. Adv. Mar. Lib. 5. c. 21. p. 615. D. vel. 472. 13. Fr. 1597.*

See also *Cred. pt. 2. B. 1. c. 27. No. 20. vol. 2. p. 595.*

Philippians (*r*) last in Epiphanius. The dialogue (*f*) against the Marcionites, which is commonly ascribed to Origen, proves also, that the Acts of the Apostles was rejected by the followers of this heretic. SECT. 41.

SECT. XLII. *And received only ten Epistles of St. Paul, and these altered.*

THE ten epistles of St. Paul, as they are reckoned up by Epiphanius, and the order in which they are placed, is as follows. (*t*) The first in Marcion's Apostolicon was the epistle to the Galatians. The second, the 1st epistle to the Corinthians. The third, the 2d epistle to the Corinthians. The fourth was the epistle to the Romans. The fifth was the 1st to the Thessalonians. The sixth, the 2d to the same church. The seventh, the epistles to the Ephesians. The eighth, the epistle to the Colossians. The ninth, the epistle to Philemon; and the tenth, the epistle to the Philippians. Epiphanius hath also given us some fragments of that, which is called the epistle to the Laodiceans. SECT. 42.

It appears from what the Marcionite says, in the dialogue attributed to Origen, that the followers of that heresy read some passages in St. Paul's epistles, different from the manner in which they were commonly read. For he observes,

M m

by

(*r*) *Epi. ubi supra. p. 310. A.*

(*f*) ΕΥΤΡ. Δεχόμενοι, Μαρκε, τας των αποστολων προαξεις και μαθητων λεγομενων, ως αληθη η ε; ΜΑΡΚ. Ημεις πλεον τε Ευαγγελισ, και τε Αποστολων, ε δεχομεθα. *Dia. Con. Mar. sec. 2. p. 18.*

(*t*) Αι δε επισολαι αι παρ αυτω λεγομεναι εισι, πρωτη μεν προς Γαλατας, δευτερα δε προς

Κορινθιας, τριτη προς Κορινθιας δευτερα, τεταρτη προς Ρωμαιας, πεμπτη προς Θεσσαλονικεις, εκτη προς Θεσσαλονικεις δευτερα, εβδομη προς Εφισιας, οδση προς Κολωσσαεις, εννατη προς Φιλημονα, δεκατη προς Φιλιππησιως. εχει δε και της προς Λαυδικειας λεγομενης μερη. *Epi. Adv. Har. 42. No. 9. p. 310. A.*

SECT. 42. by way of answer to Adamantius the orthodox disputant, I do not believe your *false* (u) Apostolicon; and again, I (x) give credit to my own Apostolicon. In opposition to the former of these assertions of the Marcionite, viz. that the common way of reading St. Paul's epistles was false, Adamantius declares, (y) that the Marcionite Apostolicon was very much mutilated. As Epiphanius has given us a list of these alterations and omissions, I shall insert a particular account of these; not only as they are enumerated by him who was our principal guide, with respect to the alterations of St. Luke's gospel; but also as they occur in other antient writers; proceeding in the order, in which Marcion placed his epistles. Galatians was the 1st in his Apostolicon.

SECT. XLIII. *Of the Alterations and Omissions of Marcion in the Epistle to the Galatians.*

SECT. 43. **I**N chap. I. 1, Marcion (z) omitted, and God the Father, and assigned to αὐτον him, the signification of εαυτον himself, because he would have Christ to be raised by his own power, and not by the power of the Father. The Marcionite in the dialogue ascribed to Origen, (a) in citing the 7th verse of this chapter, inserts the words, according to my gospel, after the word another: and in the end of the verse, after the word pervert, instead of, the gospel of Christ, he read to a gospel different

(u) τῷ σω φάλσῳ ἢ πρὶς αὐτοῦ ἀποστολικῷ. *Dia. Con. Mar. sec. 1. p. 8.*

(x) M: τῷ ἐμῷ ἀποστολικῷ περὶ δαμασκ. A: ἔχω τὸ ἀποστολικὸν σὺ. *Ibid. sec. 2. p. 47.*

(y) A: προσεβέβηκε τὸ ἀποστολικὸν σὺ, εἰ καὶ τὰ μαλακὰ περιεκομμενὸν ἐστὶ. *Ibid. sec. 1. p. 8.*

(z) Omittebat Marcion, καὶ Θεὸς πατὴρ

in ejus Apostolico, volens exponere Christum non a Deo patre sed per semet ipsum suscitatum. *Hieron. in locum.*

(a) M. λέγει γὰρ ὅτι ἕκ ἐστὶ ἄλλο, κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον μὲν· εἰ μὴ τινες εἰσὶ οἱ ταρασσόντες ὑμᾶς, καὶ θέλοντες μεταστρεφῆναι εἰς ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον τῷ χριστῷ. *Con Marc. sec. 1. p. 9.*

different from that of Christ. These variations might be inserted from the Apostolicon of Marcion, as (*b*) Dr. Mill thinks; or perhaps they might not be intended as an exact quotation, but only as an argument, consisting partly of the words of the apostle in this place, and partly of what the Marcionite had before quoted; (*c*) which seems to be from Romans ii. 16. together with his own explanation or comment.

SECT. 43.

In chapter iii. Marcion omitted the 6th, 7th, and 8th verses, (*d*) in order to get rid of the mention of Abraham, and of the gospel having been preached to him; on which account he ought also to have omitted part of the 9th verse, *συν τῷ πιστῷ Ἀβραάμ*, with faithful Abraham: and according to Tertullian's (*e*) manner of stating the argument against him, this was the case. In the 15th verse of this chapter, Marcion erased some things. Tertullian gives no particular account of what he left out. Dr. Mill (*f*) expresses himself dubiously on this head. If I may be allowed to guess; from the manner in which Tertullian expresseth himself, I should imagine that Marcion erased the whole of the 3d chapter, after the word *λέγω* in the 15th verse, and the beginning of the 4th

M m 2

chapter,

(*b*) Vide Millii Testamentum in locum.

(*c*) Μ. ο Αποστολος ειπεν—κατα το ευαγγελιον μου. ιδε πως λεγει εν ειναι και λεγει ει τις υμας ευαγγελισται παρ ο ευαγγελισταιμεθα υμιν, αναδεμα εγω. Con. Marc. sec. 1. p. 9.

(*d*) Sicut Abraham credidit; &c. Ab hoc loco usque ad eum ubi scribitur, qui ex fide sunt, &c. Marcion de suo Apostolico erasit. Hieron. in loc. T. 4. p. 252.

Ab hoc loco (καθως in v. 6.) ad v. 9. ωστε οι εκ πιστεως, &c. Marcion omnia erasit in Apostolicon suo teste Hieronymo in locum. Millii Test. in loc.

(*e*) Sed et quum adjicit, omnes enim filii estis fidei, ostenditur quid supra hæretica industria eraserit, mentionem scilicet Abrahamæ, qua nos Apostolus filios Abrahamæ per fidem affirmat, secundum quam mentionem hic quoque filios fidei notavit. Adv. Mar. Lib. 5. c. 3. p. 456. 25. F. 1597.

(*f*) Hoc loco quædam omisit Marcion in Apostolicon suo, teste Tertul. Lib. 5. Con. Mar. c. 4.

Si quidem mentem ejus recte assequar. Millii. Test. in locum.

SECT. 43. chapter, till you come to the word *οτι*, in the 3d verse, and then the words will be connected in the following manner, turning from the 15th verse of the 3d chapter, to the 3d of the 4th chapter; Brethren, I speak after the manner of men; when we were children, we were in bondage under the elements of the world; but when the fulness of time was come, God sent forth his son. This is precisely what Tertullian's (g) argument requires, and they are the very words which he connects together. Dr. Mill (h) indeed gives the words of Tertullian, as a various reading under the 3d verse. But from what he himself says under the 15th verse of the former chapter, and from this various reading being found no where else, but in this place of Tertullian, it appears highly probable, that the sense before given of this passage of Tertullian, is the true one.

In the 9th verse of the 5th chapter Marcion read (i) *δολοι* corrupteth, instead of *ζυμοι* leaveneth, as it is in our present copies. Marcion's reading is probably (k) the right one.

(g) *Adhuc inquit secundum hominem dico, dum essemus parvuli, sub elementis mundi eramus positi ad disserviendum eis. Atquin non est hoc humanitus dictum; non enim exemplum sed veritas. Quis enim parvulus utique sensu, quod sunt nationes, non elementis subjectus est mundi, quæ pro Deo suscipit?—Erubescat spongia Marcionis, nisi quod ex abundanti retracto quæ abstulit, quum validius sit illum ex his revinci quæ servavit. Quum autem evenit impleri tempus, misit Deus filium suum, utique is qui etiam ipsorum temporum Deus est, &c. Adv. Mar. Lib. 5. c. 4. p. 456. 37. Fr. 1597.*

(h) *Adhuc secundum hominem dico, dum essemus parvuli, &c. Marcionis Αποστολικον, teste Tertul. l. 5. Contra Marcion. c. 4. interjecto illo κατ' ανθρωπον λεγω ex v. 15. præcedentis capitis. Millii Test. in locum.*

(i) *Αντι τα μικρα ζυμη ολον το φουραμα ζυμοι, εποιησε δολοι. Epi. Hær. 42. p. 319. C.*

(k) *Epiphanius lectionem hanc Marcionis esse dicit. Ego certe ipsius Apostoli germanam esse nullus dubito. Vide note 1. Cor. 5, 6. Millii Test. in locum. Vide Simon's Crit. Hist. N. T. part 1. c. 15. p. 133.*

SECT. XLIV. *In the first Epistle to the Corinthians.*

IN the first epistle to the Corinthians, the 9th chapter, SECT. 44.
8th verse, where we read, (1) or faith not the law the
same also? He changed it into, or doth not the law of *Moses*
say the same: inserting the word *Moses*, as if he would there-
by make the apostle insinuate, that it was not the law of the
God of the Christians.

In chap. x. 9. Epiphanius (*m*) accuses Marcion of having
changed κυριον, Lord, which according to him was the true
reading, into χριστον, Christ, which is the reading in our pre-
sent copies. But whatever Epiphanius thought, it is pro-
bable, χριστον was the true reading. For some person who
thought the sense harsh with χριστον, might change it into κυριον.
But no good reason can be assigned for the contrary change.
In the 19th verse of this chapter, Marcion (*n*) changed
οτι ειδωλον τι εστιν that the idol is any thing, into οτι ιεροδυτον τι εστιν,
that what is offered in the temple is any thing.

In

(1) Μεταλλαγμενος. αντι γαρ τε, και ο νομος
ταυτα ε λεγει, (in nostris codicibus η εχι και
ο νομος ταυτα λεγει) φησι εκεινος. ει και ο νομος
Μωυσεως ταυτα ε λεγει. *Epi. Ibid. p. 320. B.*
Ei is here put for η. Ei quod alibi passim
scripto pro η, non autem posito, quod vult
Epiphanius, pro conjunctione tametsi, quis
enim Marcionem adeo vefanum credat, ut
dicat legem ista non dicere: et tamen addat
in proximo, in lege Mosaica scriptum ε φημω-
σεις, &c. *Millii Test. in Locum.*

2. Doth not Epiphanius understand ει in
the same sense with Dr. Mill? *Vide Epi.*
Hær. 42. p. 355. Ελεγ. ζ και ιε.

(m) Ο δε Μαρκιαν αντι της κυριον, χριστον
εποιησε. *Epi. Ibid. p. 358. B.*

(n) Τι εν φημι, οτι ιεροδυτον τι εστιν, η ειδω-
λοδυτον τι εστιν;—προσεδετο δε ο Μαρκιαν το
ιεροδυτον. *Epi. Ibid. p. 358. D. προσεδετο.*
added, because Epiphanius read in his copy
only, Τι εν φημι ειδωλοδυτον τι εστιν;

In the 14th chap. and 19th verse, Marcion read (o) δια τον νομον, on account of the law, instead of δια τη νοος μου, as it is in our copies, or τω νοι μου as Epiphanius, and some very antient Greek MSS. read; *with my understanding*.

In the 15th chap. and the 38th verse, Marcion (p) substituted πνευμα, spirit, instead of σωμα body; and left out the latter clause of the 38th verse, and the whole 39th, 40th, and 41st verses, and the first clause of the 42d, and introduced part of the 44th verse, before the latter clause of the 42d. For thus the Marcionite, in the dialogue ascribed to Origen, says it is read in their Apostolicon; God giveth it a spirit, as it hath pleased him. It is sown an animal body, it is raised a spiritual body. It is sown in corruption, it is raised in incorruption, &c. In the 45th verse of this chapter, Marcion (q) substituted κυριος Lord, instead of Αδαμ Adam, in the latter clause; and in the 47th verse he omitted (r) ανθρωπος man, in the latter clause.

(o) Πεπλανημενος ο Μαρκιων· αλλα εν Εκκλησια διαλω πεντε λογος τω νοι μου λαλησαι, ετερος δε δια τον νομον. *Epi. Ibid. 361. B. C.*

(p) Μ. Εν τω ημετερω Αποστολικω ουκ ουτω λεγει. Α: Αλλα πως. Μ: ου λεγει, ο Θεος διδωσιν αυτω σωμα, καθως ηδελησεν· αλλα ο Θεος διδωσιν αυτω πνευμα, καθως ηδελησει· σπειρεται σωμα ψυχικον, εγερεται σωμα πνευματικον· σπειρεται εν φθορα, εγερεται εν αφθαρσια. *Dia. Con. Marci. sec. 5. p. 144.*

(q) *Novissimus Adam in spiritum vivifi-*

cantem, licet stultissimus hæreticus noluerit ita esse. Dominum enim posuit novissimum, pro novissimo Adam. Ter. Adv. Mar. L. 5. c. 10. p. 465. 46. 1597.

The Marcionite cites these words in the same manner from his Apostolicon, in the dialogue. Μ-Εγενετο ο πρωτος ανθρωπος Αδαμ εις ψυχην ζωσαν· ο εσχατος Κυριος εις πνευμα ζωσποιον. *Dia. Con. Mar. sec. 5. p. 150.*

(r) Ο πρωτος ανθρωπος εκ γης χοικος, ο δευτερος Κυριος εξ υραν. *Ibid. p. 150.*

S E C T. XLV. *In the second Epistle to the Corinthians.*

IN the second epistle to the Corinthians, chap. iv. 3, Marcion understood by $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma\ \tau\eta\ \alpha\iota\omega\nu\omicron\varsigma\ \tau\epsilon\tau\eta$ the God of this world, the Creator, and considered him as here opposed to the good God, or the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who was the God of the Christians. SECT. 45.

In opposition to this, Irenæus, (f) Tertullian, (t) and others (u) who wrote against the Marcionites, were for placing a comma after $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$, and referring $\alpha\iota\omega\nu\omicron\varsigma\ \tau\epsilon\tau\eta$ to $\alpha\omega\nu\iota\varsigma\omega\nu$. In whom God hath binded the eyes of the unbelievers of this world. To us of the present day, who are but little interested in the dispute with the Marcionites, this sense appears very harsh; and is one instance among many others, how far the heat of controversy will carry men. In the 13th verse of this same chap.

Marcion

(f) Quod autem dicunt aperte Paulum in 2^a. ad Corinthios dixisse: *In quibus Deus sæculi hujus exæcavit mentes infidelium*; et alterum quidem Deum esse sæculi hujus dicunt, alterum vero qui sit super omnem principatum, et initium, et potestatem: non sumus nos in causa, si hi qui quæ super Deum sunt mysteria scire se dicunt, ne quidem legere Paulum sciunt. Si enim quis secundum Pauli consuetudinem, quemadmodum ex multis et alibi ostendimus, hyperbatis eum utentem sic legerit: *in quibus Deus*, deinde subdistinguens, et modicum diastematis faciens, simul et in unum reliqua legerit, *sæculi hujus exæcavit mentes infidelium*, inveniet verum; ut sit quod dicitur, *Deus exæcavit mentes infidelium hujus sæculi*. Iren. adv. Hær. L. 3. c. 7. p. 210. Ed. Ox. 1702.

(t) Hanc Marcion captavit sic legendo, *in quibus Deus ævi hujus* ut creatorem ostendens Deum hujus ævi, alium suggerat Deum alterius ævi. Nos contra sic distinguendum dicimus: *in quibus Deus*; dehinc: *ævi hujus exæcavit mentes infidelium*. Tertul. Adv. Marcionem, L. 5. c. 11. p. 467. 36. 1597.

(u) Auguf. Con. Faust. (l. 21. c. 2, 9.) who mentions this, but seems better pleased to understand $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma\ \tau\eta\ \alpha\iota\omega\nu\omicron\varsigma\ \tau\epsilon\tau\eta$ of the Devil. Quocirca in opere malo, i.e. excacatione infidelium, si intelligatur et Diaboles per persuadendi malignitatem, ut sic distinguatur, Deus hujus sæculi, non mihi videtur absurdum: hujus sæculi i.e. hominum improborum non nisi in hoc sæculo florere volentium. — cujus Deus venter. c. 9.

SECT. 45. Marcion (*x*) erased the words *κατα το γεγραμμενον* *επισευσα*, *διο ελαλησα*, according as it is written, I believed, and therefore have I spoken.

SECT. XLVI. *In the Epistle to the Romans.*

SECT. 46.

IN the epistle to the Romans, which is placed the fourth in the Apostolicon, Tertullian (*y*) informs us, Marcion had made great erasures; but the particular passages mutilated by him, he says he shall not point out, intending only to mention others, which upon the same principle he might have expunged, because they made against him; and which he therefore produces, as instances of his negligence and blindness.

Epiphanius has given us no instance of any corruptions, or mutilations made by Marcion in this epistle. The passages produced by him from thence, are only intended to confute Marcion, from those texts which he allowed to be genuine. He finds (*z*) fault indeed with his ranking it the fourth in his Apostolicon, and says it was, because he would have nothing right. However, we are informed by Origen, or rather by Rufinus, (*a*) in his edition of Origen's Commentary on this epistle, that Marcion omitted the two last chapters, as spurious; ending the epistle in his Apostolicon, with the 23d verse of the 14th chapter.

It is also observable, that Tertullian (*b*) quotes no passage from the 15th or 16th chapters, in his confutation of Marcion, from passages contained in this epistle.

(*x*) ΕΧΟΝΤΕΣ ΔΕ ΤΟ ΑΥΤΟ ΠΝΕΥΜΑ ΤΗΣ ΠΙΣΤΕΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΗΜΕΙΣ ΠΙΣΤΕΥΟΜΕΝ, ΔΙΟ ΚΑΙ ΛΑΛΗΜΕΝ. ΕΞΕΚΟΨΕ ΔΕ ΤΟ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΟ ΓΕΓΡΑΜΜΕΝΟΝ. *Epi. Ibid. p. 367. C.*

(*y*) Quantas autem foveas in ista vel maxime epistola Marcion fecerit, auferendo quæ voluit, de nostri testamenti integritate parebit. Mihi sufficit quæ proinde eradenda non vidit, quasi negligentias et cæcitates

ejus accipere. *Adv. Mar. L. 5. c. 13. p. 469. 38. 1597.*

(*z*) ΤΗΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΡΩΜΑΙΟΥΣ ΤΕΤΑΡΤΗΣ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗΣ. ΕΤΩΣ ΓΑΡ ΕΣΤΙ ΠΑΡΑ ΤΩ ΜΑΡΚΙΩΝΙ ΚΕΙΜΕΝΗ, ΝΑ ΜΗΔΕΝ ΟΡΘΟΝ ΠΑΡΑ ΑΥΤΩ ΕΙΗ. *Epi. Ibid. p. 368. B.*

(*a*) *Vide Origen: seu potius Rufin: Commen. in Ep. ad Rom. c. 14, 23.*

(*b*) *Vide Test. ad. Marcion, L. 5. c. 14.*

S E C T.

S E C T. XLVII. *In the first Epistle to the
Thessalonians.*

THE fifth in Marcion's Apostolicon, is the first epistle SECT. 47.
to the Thessalonians, which Epiphanius (*c*) says, was
so entirely corrupted by him, that he had selected nothing
from thence, on which to found any refutations of him, or
his doctrine. Tertullian however was of a different mind.
From him it appears, that though there might be alterations
made by Marcion, yet sufficient was left untouched, to show
the absurdity of his opinions. He says, (*d*) it will not be
unprofitable to attend to the shorter epistles; for there is a
favouriness in few words. He accordingly draws arguments
from the 2d, 4th, and 5th chapters of this first epistle. He
says that the word, own ιδιος, (*e*) in the 15th verse of the
2d chapter, was an edition of this heretic. It is read in
our present copies, but it is left out in some of the most an-
tient Greek MSS. (*f*) and by Origen, as well as Tertullian
and some others.

(*c*) Της πρὸς Θεσσαλονικεὺς πρῆμτης ἐπιστολῆς.
ὅτω γὰρ κεῖται ἐν τῷ Μαρκιωνί—τὰ πάντα τῷ
Μαρκιωνος διεφθαρμένως ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἔχοντος, ὅθεν
ἐξ αὐτῆς παρεδέμεθα. *Epi. Ibid. p. 371. A.*

(*d*) Brevioribus quoque epistolis non pi-
gebit intendere. Est sapor et in paucis.
Ter. ad. Mar. L. 5. c. 15. p. 472. 5. 1597.

(*e*) Licet suos adjectio sit hæretici. *Ibid.*
p. 472. 12.

(*f*) *Vide Millii Test. in locum. et Dia.*
Con. Marcion, sec. 4. p. 125. et Ref. ad Afric.
p. 234.

SECT. XLVIII. *In the second Epistle to the Thessalonians.*

SECT. 48.

EPIPHANIUS (*g*) affirms the same, concerning the second epistle to the Thessalonians, the sixth in Marcion's Apostolicon, which he had before affirmed, concerning the first, viz. that the reason why he selected nothing from thence was, because it was entirely corrupted by Marcion. Tertullian (*h*) however produces several passages from this second epistle, to confute this heretic; and accuses him only (*i*) of erasing εν πυρι φλογος, in flaming fire, from the 8th verse of the first chapter, lest he should attribute vengeance, and the infliction of punishment to Christ, who was the son of the good God.

SECT. XLIX. *In the Epistle to the Ephesians, which was called by him the Epistle to the Laodiceans.*

THE epistle to the Ephesians is the seventh, according to the order in which Marcion has placed St. Paul's writings. Tertullian (*k*) says Marcion had entitled this the

(*g*) Της προς Θεσσαλονικεις δευτερας, εκ της δε κειμενης παρα τω Μαρκιωνι—ομοιως διαγραφεισης υπω αυτου τω Μαρκιωνος, παλιν εδεν εξεδεμεθα. *Epi. Ibid. p. 371. A.*

(*h*) *Vide Ter. Adv. Mar. L. 5. c. 16. passim.*

(*i*) Sed flammæ et ignem delendo hæreticus extinxit, ne scilicet nostratæ Deum faceret. *Ter. Ibid. Lib. 5. c. 16. p. 473. 3. 1597.*

(*k*) Ecclesiæ quidem veritate epistolam istam ad Ephesios habemus emissam non ad Laodiceos, sed Marcion ei titulum aliquando interpolare gestiit, quasi et in illo diligentissimus explorator. *Adv. Mar. L. 5. c. 17. p. 471. 40.*

Prætereo hic et de alia epistola quam nos ad Ephesios præscriptam habemus, hæretici vero ad Laodiceos. *Ibid. L. 5. c. 11. p. 468. 6.*

the epistle to the Laodiceans, as if to show his great diligence in investigating this matter. According to Epiphanius as before quoted, (l) he had in his Apostolicon some fragments of that, which was called the epistle to the Laodiceans. That passage which he quotes from his Apostolicon under this title, (m) is evidently taken from Ep. iv. 5, 6, with only the insertion of *εἰς Χριστός*, one Christ, between the words one baptism, and one God.

Mr. Jones asserts, (n) "that it does not appear Tertullian ever saw the Apostolicon of Marcion." But to me it seems highly probable, as he gives an account of several variations which were in this Apostolicon, from his own copy of the epistles, that he had seen, and compared it with his own. What Marcion had in his Apostolicon, under the title of an epistle to the Laodiceans, is expressly said by Epiphanius to be only *μερη*, parts or fragments. Possibly in the time of Epiphanius, some passages from the epistle to the Ephesians, and from other epistles of St. Paul, might be inserted in the Apostolicon, which the Marcionites then used; and which were taken from an epistle, which then bore the title of the epistle to the Laodiceans; though in the Marcionite Apostolicon in the time of Tertullian, the epistle to the Ephesians bore that title. This is certain, that Tertullian (o) quotes precisely from those ten epistles of St. Paul, which Epiphanius says Marcion received, and from those only, and they are ranged in the same order in both authors, except as before

N n 2

said,

(l) *Vide sec. 42. p. 265. note (t)*

(m) *Εἰς Κυρίος, μία πίστις, ἐν βαπτισμῇ, εἰς Χριστός, εἰς Θεός, καὶ πατὴρ πάντων, ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων, καὶ διὰ πάντων, καὶ ἐν πασίν. Συνάδοντος μὲν τῇ πρὸς Ἐφεσίους, ὡς Μαρκίων, καὶ ταύτας*

τὰς κατὰ σὲ μαρτυρίας ἀπὸ τῆς λεγομένης πρὸς Λαοδικείας συνήχας. Dia. Ibid. p. 274. B.

(n) *Canon of the New Test. vol. 2. pt. 3. c. 6. p. 50.*

(o) *Vide adv. Mar. L. 5. passim.*

SECT. 49.

said, (*p*) that Epiphanius places Philemon the ninth, and Philippians the last: and Tertullian Philippians the ninth, and Philemon the last. Epiphanius by saying (*q*) that Marcion received but ten epistles of St. Paul, farther shows, that what was added in the Apostolicon of Marcion, under the title of the epistle to the Laodiceans, in those places, if any, wherein it differed from the other ten epistles, was not considered as the genuine writing of St. Paul. Might not this therefore be a forgery, later than Tertullian's days, and inserted by some Marcionite, who lived after him, in the Apostolicon used in the time of Epiphanius? Because Tertullian expressly says, that in his time the epistle to the Ephesians, bore the title in Marcion's Apostolicon of the epistle to the Laodiceans. Another thing also proper to be observed is, that with respect to four of the epistles, which Marcion received in his Apostolicon, (*r*) viz. the two to the Thessalonians, that to the Philippians, and that to Philemon, Epiphanius has asserted, they were so totally corrupted, that he quoted nothing from them for that reason. Whereas Tertullian quotes several passages from the three former, which are the

(*p*) See sec. 42. p. 265.

(*q*) Εχει δε και επισολας παρ αυτω τω αγιω Αποστολω δικα αις μοναις κεχρηται. *Epi. Ibid.* p. 309. D.

After this passage Epiphanius reckons them up, in the order before mentioned: adding at the end of his enumeration, *εχει δε και της προς Λαοδικειας λεγομενης μερη*. The critique also which he gives us, is only upon these ten epistles, and upon one passage selected from the fragment of the epistle to the Laodiceans. And yet as Mr. Jones has observed (*Canon. N. T. vol. 2. p. 49.*) there is a strange passage in Epiphanius, in the beginning of which he says, " Marcion did

" not receive all the epistles of St. Paul " into his Apostolicon." Notwithstanding this, he immediately proceeds to enumerate all the fourteen, in a different order from what he gives in any other place, with the epistle to the Laodiceans also inserted in the middle of them, as if a complete epistle, and not *μερη* fragments. But this passage, upon the face of it, must appear to be in a very corrupt state. See the passage. *Epi. Ibid. p. 321. C. D.*

(*r*) See the passages which assert this, quoted this sec. 46. 47, p. 273. notes (*c*) and (*g*) and p. 279. note (*g*) and 280. note (*h*)

the same as in our former copies, and which one would from thence imagine, were admitted in that genuine state by this heretic: and the variations which he accuses him of making in these three, are but trifling. With respect to the epistle to Philemon he also expressly says, (*f*) that this epistle alone, has had an advantage from its brevity, for hereby it has escaped the falsifying hands of Marcion. One need not however greatly wonder, that forged writings in different ages should be different, though they go under the same general name. For this is certainly the case with this very epistle to the Laodiceans, as it is called: since what is now extant under this name, (*t*) has not a single passage in it, like that which Epiphanius quotes from the Apostolicon of Marcion.

In Ephesians ii. 15. Marcion (*u*) erased the word *αυτε* his, that he might make the enmity to refer to flesh, as if the apostle was here asserting, that it was a carnal enmity, which Christ destroyed, and not pointing out the method by which he destroyed it, viz. by his incarnation and death. In the 20th verse of this chapter, he erased (*x*) the words *προφητων*, prophets, from that clause, built upon the foundation of the apostles, and prophets: because if our building as christians, rested in part upon that foundation, our God, and the God of the Jews must be the same; which he denied. In the
9th

(*f*) Soli huic epistolæ brevitatis sua profuit ut falsarias manus Marcionis evaderet. *Adv. Mar. L. 5. c. 21. p. 479. 13.*

(*t*) See this epistle at large in Jones's Canon. *N. T. vol. 2. p. 3. c. 6. p. 42, &c.*

(*u*) Sed Marcion abstulit, sua: ut inimitiæ daret carnem quasi carnali vitio, non Christo emulæ. *Tertul. adv. Mar. L. 5. c. 17. p. 475. 12.*

(*x*) Abstulit hæreticus et prophetarum, oblitus dominum posuisse in Ecclesia sicut Apostolos ita et prophetas. Timuit scilicet ne et super veterum prophetarum fundamenta, ædificatio nostra constaret in Christo. *Tertul. adv. Mar. Lib. 5. c. 17. p. 475. 25.*

SECT. 39. 9th verse of the 3d chapter, he erased (*y*) the preposition *in*, in order to give a different turn to the whole sentence; which to coincide with his notions must be thus rendered. "And to make all men see by Jesus Christ, what is the fellowship of the mystery, which hath for ages been hid from God the creator of all things." A construction, which the Greek language will by no means admit of: since if *in* be left out, it should be *Θεῷ*, and *κτιστάντος*. In chap. v. 31. Marcion erased some words: according to Epiphanius, (*z*) only *τῇ γυναίκι*, unto his wife: but Tertullian (*a*) quotes the text, as if he had omitted the whole clause, "and shall be joined unto his wife," which Dr. Mill thinks (*b*) was the case. Though in the manner in which Epiphanius represents it, the sense will be compleat. "For this cause shall a man leave his father and mother, and shall be joined, (to the Lord mentioned in verse 29th) and they two shall be one flesh, &c." In chapter vi. v. 2. he omitted the latter clause, (*c*) "which is the first commandment with a promise," lest the Mosaic law, should hereby be thought to be established.

(*y*) Rapuit hæreticus in, præpositionem, et ita legi fecit, occulti ab ævis Deo, qui omnia condidit. *Ibid. L. 5. c. 18. p. 475. 32.*

(*z*) Ἀντί τῃ, καταλείψει ἄνθρωπος τὸν πατέρα αὐτῆς, καὶ τὴν μητέρα, καὶ καλλήθησεται τῇ γυναικί, καὶ ἔσονται οἱ δύο εἰς σὰρκα μίαν, παρὰ τὴν γυναῖκα. — καὶ τε σύ ὡς Μαρκίων παρακοῆς τοῦ γυναικί. κ. τ. λ. *Epi. Ibid. p. 372, 3. D. A.*

(*a*) Laborabo ego nunc eundem Deum probare masculi et Christi mulieris et Ecclesiæ, carnis et spiritus, ipso Apostolo sententiam creatoris adhibente, immo et disse-

rente: propter hoc relinquet homo patrem et matrem, et erunt duo in carnem unam. Sacramentum hoc magnum est. Sufficit inter ista, si creatoris magna sunt apud Apostolum sacramenta, minima apud hæreticos. *Adv. Mar. L. 5. c. 18. p. 476. 28.*

(*b*) Neque enim expungere vellet *προς τὴν γυναῖκα*, nisi expunxerit una et reliquum καὶ *παρακολληθήσεται*. *Millii Test. in locum.*

(*c*) Obaudiant et parentibus filii. Nam etsi Marcion abstulit: hoc est enim primum in promissione præceptum. Lex loquitur honora patrem et matrem. *Tert. adv. Mar. L. 5. c. 18. p. 476. 35.*

SECT. L. *He probably did not much alter the Epistle to the Colossians.*

COLOSSIANS stands next after Ephesians, in Marcion's Apostolicon. (d) I cannot find that Marcion is accused of altering any passage in this epistle by Origen, Epiphanius, or any other antient author, except in what follows by implication from a passage of Tertullian (e) before quoted, in which he asserts, that the epistle to Philemon was the only one that had escaped his falsifying hands. Though I wonder, says he, why he should receive this which was written to a single person, and yet reject the two to Timothy, and that to Titus, which treat of the government of the church. But I suppose, he had a mind to alter even the number of the epistles. SECT. 50.

SECT. LI. *Nor at all that to Philemon.*

PHILEMON is the 9th epistle in Marcion's Apostolicon. (f) This epistle Epiphanius (g) says, was so entirely corrupted by Marcion, that he quoted nothing from it on that account. On the other hand Tertullian asserts, it was the only one which remained unfalsified. SECT. 51.

(d) Της προς κολοσσαεις ογδοης παρα τω Μαρκιωνι κειμενης. *Epi. Ibid. 373. A.*

(e) Soli huic epistolæ brevis sua profuit ut falsarias manus Marcionis evaderet. Miror tamen quum ad unum hominem literas factas receperit, quid ad Timotheum, duos, et unam ad Titum de Ecclesiastico statu compositas recusaverit. Affectavit opi-

nor etiam numerum epistolarum interpolare. *Adv. Mar. L. 5. c. 21. p. 479. 13.*

(f) Προς Φιλημονα εννατης ητως γαρ παρα τω Μαρκιωνι κειται. *Epi. Ibid. p. 373. C.*

(g) Ομως απο ταυτης της προς Φιλημονα εδεν παρεδεμδα, δια το ολοσχεως αυτην διαστροφως παρ αυτω κεισθαι. *Epi. Ibid. p. 373. D.*

S E C T. LII. *Nor but little that to the Philippians.*

SECT. 52. **P**HILIPPIANS is the tenth and last of St. Paul's epistles received by Marcion in his Apostolicon. (*b*) This also Epiphanius says, was so mutilated by him, that he did not choose to quote any part of it, out of his copy.

Tertullian has quoted several passages from this epistle, (*i*) but doth not accuse Marcion of any particular corruptions. Nor doth any other author, that I can find, except Epiphanius.

S E C T. LIII. *An Argument from hence in favour of the Authenticity of the New Testament.*

SECT. 53. **T**HUS then we have gone through, what Marcion thought proper to receive into his Evangelium, and Apostolicon, from the gospel of St. Luke, and the writings of St. Paul. In many places in the epistles, as well as the gospel, he hath altered and mutilated passages to serve his own purpose. In others, the variations probably arose from the difference in copies. The testimony to be drawn from this view, in favour of the books of the New Testament, is very strong. By means of this heretic's rejecting some books entirely, and mutilating others, the antient christians were led

(*b*) προς Φιλιππησιους δεκατης, ετως γαρ αυτω κεισθαι, εδεν εξελεξαμεθα. *Ibid.* 373. 4.
 κεντακι παρα το Μαρκιωνι εσχατη και δεκατη (*i*) *Adv. Mar. L. 5. c. 20. passim. p.*
 ωσαντως εδεν απ αυτης δια το διαστροφως παρ 478, 9.

led to examine into the evidence for these sacred writings, SECT. 53.
and to compare copies together, and on this account to speak
of whole books, and particular passages, very frequently in
their works. Which hath enabled us of later ages, to au-
thenticate these books, and to come at the genuine reading
of many texts, in a better manner than we otherwise could
have done.



CHAP. XI.

Of LUCIAN, or LEUCIUS.

SECT. I. *Some general Account of him from antient Authors, with Observations thereon.*

SECT. I. **T**HE person concerning whom we are now going to treat, I suppose, has been already mentioned several times. Nevertheless it is fit, that he should appear here in his proper time, and place.

Lucian the elder, says Epiphanius (*a*) in his summary, to distinguish him from another of a later time, in all things followed Marcion. But by making some additions, he endeavoured to improve his scheme.

In his larger work, he again calls him the elder, or antient (*b*) Lucian: and says, he was a follower of Marcion, but separated from him, and formed a distinct sect. He held (*c*) one being or good God; another Creator, judge, and just; and a third, evil. In this he agreed with Marcion, according to the manner in which Austin understands Epiphanius: (*d*) though

(*a*) Λουκιανὸς τις ἀρχαῖος . . . πάντα κατὰ Μαρκίωνα ἐδογματίσει. *p.* 230. *D.*

(*b*) Λουκιανὸς τις ἀρχαῖος . . . συνεπομένος τῷ προειρημένῳ Μαρκίῳ καὶ ἀπο τῆς αὐτοῦ χρίσεως, καὶ αὐτὸς ἀδρόσιμα αὐτῷ ποιήσας, Αἰρετικῶς προέστη. *Ibid.* *Har.* 43. *No.* 1. *p.* 378. *B. C.*

(*c*) Ἐτερον μὲν τὸν δημιουργόν, καὶ κρίτην, καὶ

δικαίον· ἕτερον δὲ διὲν ἀγαθὸν ὡσαύτως, καὶ ἕτερον τὸν πονηρόν. *Har.* 43. *n.* 1. *p.* 378. *D.*

(*d*) Quamvis Epiphanius eum (Marcionem) tria dicat asseruisse principia, bonum, justum, pravum: sed Eusebius Syne- rum quendam, non Marcionem, trium principiorum atque naturarum scribit authorem. *De Har. T.* 6. *n.* 22. *f.* 5. *c.* 3. *G. Ven.* 1570.

though according to Eusebius, it was one Synerus who introduced the notion of three principles, and three natures. (e) SECT. I.

He alledged some texts, from the prophets, (f) particularly Mal. iii. 14. 15. in support of his notions, concerning the Creator. He (g) rejected marriage, and commended virginity: not from a love of chastity, but from an aversion to the Creator, and his works. Epiphanius in his next article says, (h) that Apelles was his fellow disciple, under Marcion.

Augustine hath not given this Lucian any distinct place in his book of heresies. Mr. Jones indeed thinks (i) he is spoken of by him under the name of Seleucus, in the account which he gives of the Seleuciani and Hermiani, which is the 59th heresy in his catalogue. Though the names Seleucus and Leucius are different, yet it must be allowed, that no sufficient argument can be drawn from thence, against the identity of the persons. Since names more different than these, have been sometimes confounded. And this hath been the case in the present instance, as has been frequently observed. (k) The name of this very person being

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Seleucus

(e) See more on this head in the foregoing chapter of Marcion, sec. 10. p. 212, 213.

(f) Βαλεται χρησθαι και μαρτυριας τισι κατὰ τον Μαρκιωνα, κατὰ την αὐτε υπονοιαν απο της των Προφητων γραφης. Φημι δε το, ματαιος ο δαλευων Κυριω. και το εισημενον* αντητησαν Θεω και εσωθησαν. *Epi. Hær. 43. n. 1. p. 378. D.*

(g) Απαρνειται τον γαμον, και αγνειας ασκει* & δι αγνειας, αλλ ινα αδειτηση τα εργα τε δημιουργου, *Ibid.*

(h) Απελλης . . . ων και αυτος συσχολασης αυτε Λευκιαν, και μαθητης τε προειρημενου Μαρκιωνος. *Hær. 44. n. 1. p. 380. C.*

(i) Jones's Canon. vol. 1. p. 305.

(k) Seleucus, ou Leuce, qui en est le premier Auteur. *Beauf. Hif. de Mani. Tom. 1. L. 11. c. 11. p. 353.*

Cela se trouvoit sans doute, avec d' autres erreurs dans le livre de Seleucus, qui avoit écrit l' histoire de la Vierge. *Ibid. p. 354. See also p. 348.*

See also Casau. *Exercit. ad apparat. Baron. Annal. No. 15. p. 74, Ec. et Fabritii Cod. Apoc. Nov. Testam. p. 137. p. 1.*

SECT. I. Seleucus in some printed copies of Jerom, (l) while the MSS. copies still retain Leucius. (m)

A more important objection against Mr. Jones's opinion is, that the time is too late for Lucian. Besides it must be observed, that Austin cannot mean by the Seleuciani the followers of this person, whom we are here speaking of: because having given an account of the Psalliani; and some others, ranked under the same article by himself and Epiphanius, he says, (n) I shall now speak of some, which we find in Philaster, but which Epiphanius has not mentioned; and the second of this class is Seleucus and his followers. This therefore must be a different person from the Lucian, who was mentioned expressly by Epiphanius, and placed both by him and Philaster, between Marcion and Apelles. Austin moreover declares (o) that he followed the order of Epiphanius, though he did not insert the whole number of his heresies. It is not difficult to account for the present omission in him: for he informs (p) us, that he had inserted some which Epiphanius

(l) Sed factum est . . . a Seleuco. *Epif. 82. Par. 2. Tract. 6. fol. 140. vel apud Hieron. Oper. T. ix. p. 203.*

(m) *Millii Prole. in N. T. sec. 336. p. 37.*

(n) Nunc ergo addo quas Philaster posuit, nec posuit Epiphanius. *Aug. ad 9. v. Deum de Hær. 59. T. 6. fol. 8. c. 4. I. Ven. 1570.*

(o) Cujus ego (scilicet Epiphanius Episcopi) in commemorandis hæreticis non modum sed ordinem sum secutus. *Ibid. Hær. 57. F. 8. c. 3. H.*

(p) Nam et aliqua ex aliis posui quæ ipse non posuit: et aliqua non posui, quæ ipse posuit: itaque alia latius quam ipse, alia et brevius explicavi; paremque in nonnullis exhibui brevitatem, omnia moderans sicut intentionis meæ ratio postulabat. Proinde

ille de octoginta hæresibus, separatis viginti, quas ante domini adventum extitisse, sicut ei visum est computavit; reliquas post domini ascensum natas sexaginta, brevissimis libris quinque comprehendit, atque omnes in sex libros totius ejusdem sui operis fecit concludi. Ego autem qui secundum petitionem tuam eas hæreses memorare institui, quæ post glorificationem Christi se adversus doctrinam Christi, et sub velamine Christiani nominis extulerunt: quinquaginta septem ex Epiphanius ipsius opere in meum transtuli, duas in unam referens, ubi nullam differentiam potui reperire: et rursus ubi ille ex duabus unam facere voluit, sub numeris suis singulas posui. *Ibid. Hær. 57. F. 8. c. 3, 4. H.*

phanus had wholly omitted, and had omitted others, which he had inserted: enlarging the accounts of some, and abridging those of others; and reducing the sixty heresies after the coming of Christ which we find in Epiphanius, to fifty-seven: considering those as only one heresy, when there was but a trifling difference between them, which Epiphanius had made two. In the present case therefore, as Epiphanius had himself said, that Lucian in all things followed Marcion; Austin in this short account which he was giving of heretics, might think it unnecessary to speak of him, as distinct from Marcion, since he could find little or no difference between them.

I place at the bottom of the page, the account of this person given by Philaster, (*q*) and the author (*r*) of the Additions to Tertullian. But they call him Lucan. Their order is Cerdon, Marcion, Lucan, Apelles: which serves to show, that they mean the same person whom Epiphanius calls Lucian. He is also mentioned by Tertullian himself, (*s*) as not allowing the resurrection of the body. He too calls him Lucan, as doth Origen in his book against Celsus. The latter says (*t*) he did know of any Christians who had altered the text of the gospel, except the followers of Valentin and Marcion, and perhaps of Lucan.

Having

(*q*) Lucanus post istum quidam similia Marcionis statuens ac decernens, ut ille doctor ipsius Marcion est in omnibus ementitus. *Hær.* 47. p. 97. p. 12. *La Prigne*.

(*r*) Extitit post hunc Lucanus quidam nomine, Marcionis sectator atque discipulus. Et hic per eadem vadens blasphemiarum genera, eadem docet quæ Marcion et Cerdon docuerant. *Præf.* c. 51. p. 253. *D.* 217. 21. *Fran.*

(*s*) Viderit unus aliquis Lucanus, nec huic quidem substantiæ parcens, quam secundum Aristotelem dissolvens, aliud quid pro ea subjicit, quasi sit tertium quiddam resurrecturum neque anima neque caro, id est non homo, sed ursus forsitan quæ Lucanus. *De Res. Carne.* c. 2. p. 380. *D.* p. 315. 11.

(*t*) Μεταχαραξαντας δὲ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἄλλως ἢ οὐκ οἶδα, ἢ τὰς ἀπὸ Μαρκίωνος, καὶ τὰς ἀπὸ Οὐαλεντίνου οἰμαι δὲ καὶ τὰς ἀπὸ Λουκιανῶ. *Con. Cels.* L. 2. p. 77. *Can.* p. 411. *Bened.*

SECT. I. Having thus put down the accounts of the most antient writers, relating to Lucan, or Lucian, or Lucius, I beg leave to refer to what hath been already said somewhat largely concerning him in (*u*) another place. But I must resume some particulars there mentioned. I shall repeat however as little as may be.

My method in treating of him shall be to consider his time, his opinions, and his works or writings.

SECT. II. *Of the Time when he lived.*

SECT. 2. **F**IRST of his time. I formerly mentioned several (*x*) learned moderns, who place him in the second century, viz. Grabe, Mill, and Beaufobre. To whom I now add (*y*) Cave. But he thinks he appeared not till about the year 180, supposing him to have been a leader of the Cataphrygians, or Montanists, (*z*) as some other authors also suppose. But in this, they are evidently mistaken. Mill (*a*) thinks he flourished about the year 140, or soon after. And Fabricius (*b*) nearly agrees with him, endeavouring to prove, that the
Leucius

(*u*) *Cred. part. 2. v. 6. p. 395, 404.*

(*x*) *Vol. 6. p. 399.*

(*y*) Lucius rectius Leucius Charinus pessimæ notæ hæreticus, secta sive Marcionita, sive Montanista, sive ex utraque conflatus, circa annum CLXXX. vixisse videtur. Certe post exortam Montani hæresin si modo Cataphrygum antesignanus fuerit. *Hif. Lit. sec. 2. p. 82. vel p. 49. Gen. 1720.*

(*z*) Ætatem designat Pacianus, cum ait, illi ipsi Phryges se animatos mentiuntur a Leucio. *Ibid. p. 83. vel 49. Gen.*

(*a*) Erat Lucianus Marcionis sectator ita et Leucius. Iste vivo adhuc magistro no-

vam sectam instituit vixitque adeo circa annum Christi 140, seu paulo postea. *Procl. n. 334. p. 37.*

(*b*) Sed quis præstabit a Paciano innui Leucium? Certe *Mentiri* hoc Phryges ait Pacianus. Itaque Leucium istum non habuit ipse pro antesignano, verum pro viro Catholico, ad cujus consensum frustra a Montanistis provocaretur. *Fab. Cod. Apoc. N. T. p. 42. in notis.*

Suspicio autem illum a Paciano Leucium denotari quem inter Johannis discipulos nominat Epiphanius. *Hær. 51. n. 6. p. 427. D. Id. Ibid. p. 768.*

Leucius spoken of by Pacian against the Montanists, is a different person, from him we are now treating of. Though in this I think him wrong, (*c*) because antient authors mention but one. It however appears to me most agreeable to the current of history, to place him somewhere between the years 135, and 150. SECT. 2.

SECT. III. *Of his Opinions.*

SECONDLY, we are to speak of his opinions. What they were was shown distinctly in the place before referred to. (*d*) The account there given, is further confirmed, by what we have quoted just before, and shall now proceed to mention. SECT. 3.

He was a scholar and follower of Marcion. He believed the Creator to be different from God the Father. (*e*) He said that the God of the Jews was an evil being, and that Simon Magus was his minister. But that the God whom Christ revealed, was different from him, and was good: (*f*) and to him

(*c*) *Vide Beauf. H. Man. T. 1. p. 351, 2.*
n. 3.

(*d*) *Vol. 6. p. 397.*

(*e*) *Vide note (c) p. 282. of this chapter.*

(*f*) Φησι γαρ αλλον ειναι τον των Ιουδαιων Θεον, και κακον. & και Σιμωνα τον Μαγον υπηρετην καδεσταναι. αλλον δε τον Χριστον (*lege Χριστον*) ον φησιν αγαθον. και φυγων απαντα, και συγχων, καλει αυτον και πατερα και υιον. *Pho. Cod. 114. p. 292. (*)*

(*) Photius who relates this, differs in some measure from Epiphanius. According to the former, Leucius allows but two principles, one evil and the other good, and the good one, or the God preached by Christ, (*a*) he considers under the characters of Father

and Son. According to the latter, Leucius asserted there were three principles, and that one of his three, which was the Creator, was just and a judge. This character of the Creator, is agreeable to the Marcionite doctrine, of which Leucius (*b*) was a follower.

(*a*) Fabricius has well observed that there is a false reading here, and that it ought to be *τε Χριστε*, and not *τον Χριστον*. *Cod. Apo. N. T. T. 1. p. 771.*

(*b*) Ουτος γαρ συνεπομενος τω προρημενω Μαρκιωνι . . . κατα παντα μεν εν κατα τον Μαρκιωνα δογματιζει. *Epi. Hær. 43. p. 378. B. C. Vide etiam Gr. Spic. Pat. v. 1. p. 78.*

SECT. 3. him he applies the appellation of both Father and Son. He was a (*g*) Docete. He condemned marriage, and denied the resurrection of the body. He also had a notion, that the Divine Being, or an Angel appeared at a certain time in the shape of a beautiful boy, and imitated a small female voice: as we find it related at large, in the book intituled "de Fide," (*h*) among Austin's works. He also thought, according to Philaster, (*i*) that the souls of men were like the souls of dogs and beasts: alledging in proof of it from the spurious acts of Andrew and Peter, that cattle, and dogs, and wild beasts had been miraculously made to speak.

(*g*) Λεγει δε μηδε ενανθρωπησαι (Χριστος) αληθως αλλα δοξαι . . . Γαμος δε νομιμας αθετει, και πασαν γενεσιν, ποτηραντε, και τε ποτηρη λεγει. *Phot. Cod.* 114. p. 292.

(*h*) Attendite in actibus Leucii, quos sub nomine Apostolorum scribit, qualia sunt quæ accipitis de Maximilla uxore Egetis, &c. . . Ibi scriptum est quod cum eadem Maximilla et Iphidamia simul issent ad audiendum Apostolum Andream, puerulus quidam speciosus, quem vult Leucius vel Deum, vel certe Angelum intelligi, commendaverit eas Andreæ Apostolo, et perrexerit ad prætorium Egetis, et ingressus cubiculum eorum finxerit vocem muliebrem, quasi Maximillæ murmurantis de doloribus

sexus fæminei, et Iphidamiæ respondentis. Quæ colloquia cum audisset Egetes, credens eas ibi esse, discesserit. *De Fide, c.* 38. *Ap. Aug. T.* 8. in *Appen. T.* 6. fol. 187, 1, 2, *Venet.* 1570.

(*i*) Unde et habent Manichæi et alii tales, Andreæ beati et Joannis actus Evangelistæ, beati et Petri similiter Apostoli, et Pauli pariter Apostoli; in quibus quia signa fecerunt magna et prodigia, ut et pecudes, et canes et bestię loquerentur, etiam et animas hominum tales velut canum et pecudum, similes imputaverunt esse hæretici perdit. *Hær.* 87. vel *Hær. Apocry.* 40. p. 22. *La Bigne, Par.* 1624.

SECT. IV. *Some Observations on his Notion about the Souls of Brutes, and the Resurrection of them.*

THIS doth not seem to have been an opinion peculiar SECT. 4.
to Lucian, and his followers: but was held, according to Philaster, (*k*) in the place before quoted, by the Manichees, Gnostics, Nicolaitans, Valentinians, and many other heretics. There is indeed no doubt but Lucian believed, that the souls of men, and the souls of beasts, were of the same kind. For it is expressly said by Philaster, to be contained in those spurious writings, which went under the names of Andrew, John, Peter, and some others of the apostles; which writings it will evidently appear, were the forgeries of Lucian. This tenet is also ascribed to him by Photius, though in somewhat a different manner. He says, (*l*) that this heretic strangely believed a most absurd and puerile kind of resurrection, of dead men, and oxen, and cattle.

Photius seems here to have mistaken the meaning of the terms. It should be observed, that all the Docetes denied the resurrection of the body, or of the flesh. (*m*) This was a consequence of their believing, that Christ had not really a body, but only appeared to have one. However the Mar-

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cionites

(*k*) E quibus sunt maxime Manichæi, Gnostici, Nicolaitæ, et Valentiniani, et alii quam plurimi, qui Apocrypha Prophetarum et Apostolorum, id est actus separatōs habentes, canonicas legere scripturas contemnunt. *Id. Ibid.*

(*l*) Νεκρῶν δὲ ἀνθρώπων καὶ βῶν, καὶ κτηνῶν παραλογιστὰς καὶ μισανθρωπικὰς τερατείας ἀναγασκὶς. *Photii. Cod. 114. p. 292.*

(*m*) Τὴν τῆς σαρκὸς δὲ ἀδότην ἀναστασιν καθάπερ πολλοὶ τῶν αἱρετικῶν. *Epi. ad. Her. 42. p. 304. B.*

cionites talked of a resurrection, which may be called a figurative resurrection, and which (*n*) they applied to souls. They considered souls as dead, while they were in the body, and therefore the death of the body, was the life, or in their phraseology, the resurrection of the soul. This is agreeable to the Platonic doctrine, which represented the soul as in a prison, while confined in the body. From this philosophy, Docetism seems to have derived its origin. For the followers of this opinion, were principally among the higher classes of men, and were chiefly those, who had been converted from Heathenism to Christianity. Lucian might therefore very probably, be a believer in the resurrection of the souls of brutes in this sense, as well as in that of the souls of men. For it was a Marcionite tenet, to which he also undoubtedly gave his assent, that the souls of men, and the souls of brutes (*o*) are of the same kind. Thus far then Philaster is undoubtedly right in saying, that he believed the souls of men and beasts to be alike. And this is one proof among many others, that he was a follower of Marcion, and not a Manichean, and therefore he is justly placed, as before observed, in the second century.

(*n*) Ψυχῆς δὲ Ἀναστάσις εἶναι λέγει, καὶ ζῶν καὶ σωτηρίαν μοῖρης. *Epi. Ibid. p. 305. B.*

(*o*) Νομίζει δὲ ὁ ἑλεῖνος ὅτις ἀμὰ τοῖς ὕπνῳ φρονεῖσιν, ὅτι ἡ αὐτὴ ψυχὴ ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ ζῴσις ὑπάρχει. *Epi. Ibid. p. 330. B.*

SECT. V. *A Belief in another Kind of Resurrection, ascribed to him by Tertullian.*

TERTULLIAN indeed here ascribes to him the be- SECT. 5.
 lief of a different kind of resurrection; for he says,
 (p) it was his opinion, that a kind of third thing, which
 was neither soul, nor body, was to be raised, and which con-
 sequently was not man, but might be a bear. This Dr.
 Mill (q) understands, as pointing out his belief in the Py-
 thagorean transmigration of souls from one body to another,
 and even into the bodies of beasts; and therefore that men
 were endowed with the souls of other men, and that even
 brutes had sometimes those souls, which had before resided in
 a human body. Epiphanius, in his refutation of Marcion on
 the article of eating flesh, says, (r) that the traduction and
 passage of souls from one body to another, was a common

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opinion

(p) Omnes enim fere hæretici eam
 (animæ salutem) quoquo modo volunt, ta-
 men non negant. Viderit unus aliqui Lu-
 canus, nec huic quidem substantiæ parens,
 quam secundum Aristotelem dissolvens, aliud
 quid pro ea subjicit, tertium quidam resur-
 rector, neque anima neque caro, id est
 non homo, sed ursus forsitan, qua Lucanus.
De Carne Chris. c. 2. p. 315.

(q) Tum vero quod prodigiosam nescio
 quam resurrectionem commentus sit, qua
 neque anima hominum resuscitanda foret,
 neque corpus sed tertium quiddam, scilicet
 (ex Pythagorica, quam probavit, hypothesi
 de transmigratione animarum de corporibus
 in corpora hominum nec non pecudum)
 homines alienis animabus præditi, ideoque

nec iidem qui ante fuerant, ut et pecudes
 hominum animis donatæ. Sic enim Ter-
 tulliani verba interpretor ex Photio. *Millii
 Prole. 334. p. 37. Ox.*

(r) Διδασκει γὰρ ὁτος ἐμψυχὼν μὴ μεταλαμ-
 βανεῖν, φασκὼν ἐνοχὸς εἶναι τῇ κρίσει τῆς τῶν
 κρεῶν μεταληπτοῦς, ὡς ἀν ψυχᾶς ἐσθίουσας. .
 εἰ γὰρ τὰ κρεῖα ἡ ψυχὴ, ἀλλὰ ἐν τοῖς κρεῖασιν ἡ
 ψυχὴ. καὶ ὅτε ψυχὴν φάμεν εἶναι τὴν ἐν τοῖς
 ζώοις, ὡς τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων τιμίαν. . . νημιζέι
 δὲ ὁ ἐλεῖνος ὁτος ἀμὰ τοῖς ὅτω φρονέουσιν. κ. τ. λ.
 τὸτο γὰρ παρὰ πολλαῖς τῶν πεπλανημένων αἰρε-
 σέων ματὴν υπολαμβάνεται, καὶ γὰρ, καὶ Οὐαλέν-
 τινος, καὶ Κολοβαρσος, γνωρίζοιτε πάντες, καὶ Μα-
 νιχαῖοι, καὶ μεταγίστους εἶναι ψυχῶν φασκόντες,
 καὶ μετεσώματωσις τῆς ψυχῆς. *Epi. adv.
 Har. 42. p. 330. B. C.*

SECT. 5. opinion (*f*) among most of the heretics, and that Marcion and his followers, among whom our Lucian must be ranked, esteemed the souls of men, and of brutes, equally precious.

SECT. VI. *Some general Account of his Writings.*

SECT. 6. **T**HIRDLY. I proceed to give some account of his writings,

Grabe who applied himself very particularly to these matters, hath assured us, (*t*) that he was the author of many forgeries under the names of the holy apostles; and (*u*) that he himself had found several fragments of his writings in MS. which were never yet published, but which he intended to give to the world in their proper places. Had he lived to have compleated his design, perhaps many pieces would have clearly appeared to have been the forgeries of this person, about which there are now some remaining doubts. However he hath been long, and justly, regarded as the grand framer of Apocryphal books: in which, as Photius the Patriarch

(*f*) See some Observations on this point, in the foregoing chapter of Marcion, sec. 17. p. 223.

(*t*) Evangelium ejus (Petri) fuisse reor figmentum Leucii hæretici seculo secundo plura ejusmodi cudentis, eaque nominibus S. Apostolorum supponentis. *Spi. Pat. T. 1. p. 58.*

(*u*) Quos una cum aliorum Apostolorum rebus gestis composuit et publicavit Leucius, sive Lucius Marcionis successor seculi II. quosque summatim perstrinxit Photius Cod.

114. Ego vero suo loco fragmenta eorum hætenus inedita orbi erudito offeram. *Ibid. p. 77, 8.*

Jam fateor quidem me in nullis excusis historiæ ecclesiasticæ monumentis istud S. Thomæ (scilicet Judæ) cognomen reperire potuisse, reperisse tamen in MSS. actis Græcis Thomæ in Bibliotheca Bodleiana Cod. 180. Barocc. fol. 42. p. 2. Quæ Leucium seculi II. hæreticum auctorem habere videntur. *Ibid. p. 324.*

arch of Constantinople says, (x) "His stile is altogether unequal and various. The construction and words which he makes use of, though they are sometimes far from being mean, yet they are however for the most part very low, and vulgar; and there are in his writings no traces of an even and flowing phraseology; or of a native grace, similar to that which we find in the stile of the Evangelists and Apostles." Pope Gelasius (y) hath condemned him, and his works in the strongest terms; declaring, that all those books which go under the name of the travels of Andrew and the other apostles, were forged by Lenticius, as he is there called, or Leucius; and that all his writings are apocryphal; and he himself a disciple of the Devil. It is however necessary to be observed, that all the contradictions, all the silly stories, all the vulgarisms and inaccuracies which are now in these books, are not to be imputed entirely to Leucius; since it is evident from some of the pieces themselves, that they have been interpolated, as Beaufobre (z) hath clearly made appear, and that they have been interpolated by several hands, and some of them extremely ignorant.

I would also further remark, that this heretick is called by many names; such as *Lucanus*, *Lucius*, *Leicius*, *Leucius*, *Lentitius*, *Leontius*, *Lentius*, *Seleucus*, *Leucius Charinus*, and even *Nexocharides*, and *Leonides*, which mean all one and the same person, as is fully shown by Mr. Jones, (a) and Beaufobre,

(x) Η δε φρασις εις το παντελες ανωμαλως τε και παρηλλαγμανη. Και συνταξεις γαρ και λεξεις κεχρηται ενιοτε μεν εκ ημελημεναις, κατα δε το πλειστον αγορειαις και πιπατημεναις. Και εδεν της ομαλης και αυτοσχεδια φρασιως, και της εκειθεν εμφυτης χαριτος, καθ ην ο ευαγγελικος τε και αποστολικος διαμεμορφωται λογος εδ ιχνος εμφανων. Phot. Cod. 114.

(y) Libri omnes, sub nomine Andreæ, &c. quos fecit Lentitius, seu Leucius filius Diaboli, apocryphi. Gelas. Decret. ap. Labb. Conc. T. 4. p. 1264.

(z) Hist. De Man. F. 1. p. 371, 2. Vide etiam. p. 354.

(a) Jones, Vol. 1. p. 305, 6. and 309, 10. Vol. 2. p. 419, 20.

SECT. 6. fobre. (b) Several of the differences in these names, were undoubtedly owing to the carelessness of transcribers, and some to the ignorance of those who altered and falsified these forgeries.

This being premised, I proceed to mention in brief those forgeries which are attributed to Lucian, or Leucius, as he is more frequently called. They who would see a more minute examination of particulars, with the reasons at large, on which this opinion is founded, may consult Beaufobre, (c) and Jones. (d)

SECT. VII. *Some Observations on Mr. Jones's Assertions that Leucius was a Manichee.*

SECT. 7. **T**HIS latter writer has given us, in the second volume of his Canon of the New Testament, several of the spurious pieces here referred to, viz. the gospel of the Nativity, the Protevangelion, the gospel of the Infancy, and the gospel of Nicodemus.

He is, I think, greatly mistaken in making Leucius a Manichee, and in assigning him so late an æra, as the latter end of the third, or the beginning of the fourth century. The only evidences which I can find for his being a Manichee, is the assertion of it in a supposititious letter, found among Jerom's works, and because the opinions contained in his forgeries, are agreeable to some of the Manichæan doctrines, and therefore these writings were received by the Manichees. But the
oriental

(b) *Hif. De Man. T. 1. p. 348. &c.*
passim.

(c) *Hif. De Manich. T. 1. p. 348, 407.*

(d) *Canon of the N. T. Vol. 1. p. 284, 326. and Vol. 2. p. 419.*

oriental philosophy had infected Christians, long before Manes SECT. 7.
 arose; and this Leucius is very justly considered as a fore-
 runner of him, and a source from which he and his followers
 derived some of their principal arguments. For he, as I have
 before observed, held an evil principle, as well as a good one,
 and a just one. The Manichees therefore readily received
 his writings, which contained sentiments so favourable to
 their own. From hence it is probable, the author of that
 epistle inserted among Jerom's works, was induced to call
 him a Manichee. Neither Austin, nor Pope Gelasius apply
 this name to him, in those places referred to by Mr. Jones;
 they only say, that the Manichees respected his writings. If
 he had been one of this sect, the place assigned him by Mr.
 Jones would have been right. But as he was cotemporary
 with Marcion, and his scholar, it is undoubtedly wrong.
 Grabe, (*e*) a proper and an accurate judge in these matters,
 declares, he was the successor of Marcion, and an heretic of
 the second century.

To proceed then to his forgeries.

SECT. VIII. *Leucius was the Author of the
 History of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary.*

HE is said to be the author of a spurious book, entitled, SECT. 8.
*The History of the Virgin: or, The History of the Na-
 tivity of the Virgin Mary.* This is mentioned in a letter, (*f*)
 which is generally thought to be suppositious, from Chro-
 matius

(*e*) Vide p. 292. notes (*t*) and (*u*) of this chapter. multa contraria nostræ fidei considerantes scripta, recusanda credimus universa. *Apud*

(*f*) Ortum Mariæ Reginae Virginis, . . . Hieron. Op. T. v. vel P. 2. Trac. 2. Ep. 23. in Apocryphis invenimus Libris in quibus fol. 38.

SECT. 8. matius and Heliodorus to Jerom. In the answer ascribed to Jerom, it is said (*g*) to be written by one Seleucus, (or Leucius, according to the MS.) and he is there called a Manichee. It is also said (*b*) in these letters, to have been written in Hebrew; and that there was a report current, that the Evangelist Matthew was the author of it, and that he prefixed it to the beginning of his own gospel. This is partly contradicted by the writer of the second letter, and by another letter in Jerom, which is a kind of preface to this book. In both these it is ascribed to that Leucius, (*i*) who wrote a spurious history of the Acts and Sufferings of the Apostles.

A gospel of this kind which was in being (*k*) in the second century is referred to by Epiphanius, (*l*) and Austin. (*m*)
But

(*g*) Sed factum est ut a Manichei discipulo nomine Seleuco (Leucio MS.) Qui etiam Apostolorum gesta falso Sermone conscripsit; hic Liber editus. *Ibid.* T. v. p. 445. vel P. 2. Tra. 2. Ep. 24. fol. 38. vel Tr. 6. Ep. 82. fol. 140.

(*b*) Extiterunt Viri Dei Armenius et Virituus, qui dicerent sanctitatem tuam beatissimi Matthæi Evangelistæ manuscriptum Hebraicum invenisse in quo et Virginis Matris, et Salvatoris infantia esset scripta. *Ib.*

Nec ipse sanctus Matthæus Apostolus et Evangelista voluit in aperto conscribi. Si enim hoc secretum non esset, Evangelio utique ipsius quod edidit addidisset: sed fecit hunc libellum Hebraicis litteris obsignatum, quem usque adeo edidit, ut ex manu ipsius liber scriptus Hebraicis litteris, a viris religiosissimis habeatur, qui etiam a suis prioribus per successus temporum susceperunt, hunc autem ipsum librum, nunquam alicui transferendum tradiderunt, textum ejus aliter, atque aliter narraverunt. Sed factum est ut a Manichæo, &c. *Ibid.*

Proinde ut in Hebræo habetur, verbum ex verbo transferre curabo: si quidem sanctum

Matthæum eundem libellum liquet composuisse, et in capite Evangelii sui Hebraicis literis obsignatum apposuisse. Quod an verum sit, auctori præfationis et fidei scriptoris committo. *Ibid.* Epi. 25. F. 39.

(*i*) De Nativitate S. Mariæ. . . . ideo scire vos volo multa in eo falsa inveniri. Quidam namque Seleucus (Leucius MS.) qui passiones Apostolorum conscripsit hunc Libellum composuit. *Ibid.*

(*k*) Jones's Canon. Vol. 2. p. 163.

(*l*) Ἀλλὰ δὲ μυρία παρ' αὐτοῖς πεπλασμένα γραφεῖα τε τολµαταὶ γεννᾶν μὲν γὰρ Μαρίας βιβλίον τι φασὶν εἶναι. κ. τ. λ. *Hær.* 26. n. 12. p. 94. A.

Εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἡ τῆς Μαρίας ἱστορία, καὶ παραδόσεις εἶχον ὅτι ἐρεβδη τῷ πατρὶ αὐτῆς Ἰωαχὴμ. κ. τ. λ. *Hær.* 79. n. v. p. 1062. C. D.

(*m*) Quia eadem patrem habuerit sacerdotem quemdam nomine Joachim. *Contr. Faus. Mani.* L. 23. c. 4. opp. T. 6. Ven.

Ac per hoc illud, quod de generatione Mariæ Faustus posuit, quod patrem habuerit ex tribu Levi, sacerdotem quendam nomine Joachim, quia non canonicum est, non me constringit. *Ibid.* c. 9.

But our present copies are very much altered from the ancient ones. For in that which is now extant, there is not the least mention of the death of Zacharias, concerning the cause of which Epiphanius has produced a passage, from the copy extant in his time, the purport of which is as follows. That Zacharias (*n*) while ministering in the temple, saw a vision, and being willing to reveal what he saw to the people, was struck dumb. Afterwards when he recovered his speech, he declared to the Jews, that he saw a man standing there in the form of an ass. Upon which they slew him.

SECT. IX. *The Writer of it not a Jew.*

THERE are Hebraisms in the phraseology, which induced Mr. Jones to ascribe this piece to some Jew, or Hellenist. Though he himself allows afterwards, (*o*) that it might be composed by Leucius Charinus, or our Leucius, who borrowed from some former forgery, and that what we now have is different from his. For in the fragment preserved by Austin, Mary is said to be of the tribe of Levi, whereas in our present copies, she is said (*p*) to be sprung from the royal race and family of David. Though it must be allowed, that there are some Hebraisms in this piece, and some allusions to Jewish customs, yet it is also certain, there are other things, which are contrary to facts well known

Qq

among

(*n*) Τον Ζαχαριαν απεντανθαι εν τω ναω
επειδη φασι οπτασιαν εωρακει, και απο τς φοβης
δελων ειπειν την οπτασιαν απεφραγη το σωμα.
ειδε γαρ φασιν ανδρωπον εσωτα ον μορφην εχοντα.
κ. τ. λ. *Ibid.* p. 94. A. B.

(*o*) *Canon of the N. T. Vol. 2. p. 175,*
and 207.

(*p*) Beata et gloriosa semper virgo Maria

de stirpe regia et familia David oriunda,
in civitate Nazareth nata, Hierosolymis in
templo Domini nutrita fuit. Pater ejus
Joachim, mater vero Anna dicebatur. Do-
mus paterna ex Galilæa et civitate Nazareth.
Maternum autem genus ex Bethlehem erat.
Evan. Nativ. Mariæ apud Hieron. Opp. P. 2.
Tr. 2. Ep. 25. fol. 39.

SECT. 9. among the Jews, and inconsistent with their established customs, as Jones himself has observed. (*q*) For instance, that Issachar was the name of the high priest, who discoursed with Joachim; whereas if this history be supposed to be true (*r*) in other respects, Simon the son of Boethus Alexandrinus was then high priest, and continued so for nineteen years. 'Tis also said in the history, that Mary was brought at three years old to the temple, and continued there according to custom, till she was fourteen. But it is certain, there were no such cells or apartments in the temple at Jerusalem, nor was there any such custom of keeping Nuns there. These appear to me such decisive proofs, against the author's being a Jew, as the few Hebraisms found therein, are not able to countervail. The truth seems to be, that many of the things contained in this spurious piece, were current traditions in the second century. (*s*) Leucius interwove with these some passages from the genuine scriptures, and thus made up the heterogenous mass. The author of the pretended letter from Chromatius and Heliodorus, altered the beginning of this gospel of the Nativity, to what we now find it to contain, expunging that false opinion, of Mary's being descended from Levi, and inserting the real fact; that she was of the royal race and family of David.

The inculcating the propriety of perpetual virginity, seems to have been the design of the original composer, especially in the latter part of this piece. This is entirely agreeable to the

(*q*) Jones, Vol. 2. p. 185, 6.

(*r*) Vide Josephi Anti. Jud. L. 15. c. 12. Helvicii Chronol. et Sigon. de Repub. Judæor. L. 5. c. 2. p. 220. The same as this is hinted by Baronius Appar. ad Annal.

Eccles. No. 39, and Casaub. Exero. in eun-
aem numerum. Jones ubi sup. note.

(*s*) Canon of the N. T. V. 2. p. 169,
173, and p. 184.

the opinions of Leucius: it is therefore probable that he was SECT. 9.
the author, and that this part remains the same as he first wrote it.

SECT. X. *The Protevangelion, or Gospel of James was composed by Leucius.*

ANOTHER forged gospel ascribed to Leucius is the SECT. 10.
PROTEVANGELION, or *Gospel of James*, which (t) hath been published in Greek several times. Of this gospel there are several MS. copies now extant. It pretends to give an account of the birth of Christ: and contains many of the same things, which are in the gospel of Mary. It proceeds further indeed, and adds some remarkable stories: such as Jacob's drinking the water of trial, to prove whether Mary was with child by him or not: their journey to Bethlehem: the standing still of the clouds, birds, and all other things, at the birth of our Saviour: the affair of the midwife: the coming of the wise men; and many others. It also adds to the account given us by the former, of the age of Joseph; that he was a widower, and had several children. The story of the murder of Zacharias is inserted, though a different cause is here assigned for it, from that which Epiphanius has assigned, in the extract before given. Here it is attributed to Herod, who put Zacharias to death, because he would not discover where John was; when by his order the children were murdered.

(t) *Vide Protevange. sive Evangelium Jacobi. Basil. 1552. Grynæi Orthodox. p. 71. p. 129. Fabric. Cod. Apocry. N. T. Jones, V. 2.*

SECT. XI. *A current Tradition that Joseph was a Widower, and had Children by his former Wife.*

SECT. 10.

THE opinion that Joseph was a widower, and had children by a former wife, when he was betrothed to Mary; was current in the primitive ages. Origen mentions it in his commentary on Matt. xiii. 55. (u) and says, many believed that the brethren of Christ there mentioned, were the children of Joseph by a former wife: and that they were induced to be of this opinion, by some passages in the gospel of Peter, or the book of James. Eusebius (x) gives us the same reason, why James was called the brother of Christ. Epiphanius (y) hath frequently mentioned this same thing. He says, that James was the son of Joseph by a former wife, and therefore called the brother of Jesus. And again, that Joseph was about eighty years old, when he married Mary, and that he had six children by a former wife. And still more particularly in his dispute with the Antidicomarionites, he informs us, (z) that Joseph was very old when he married Mary, and had been many years a widower, that he was the brother of Cleophas, and the son of James, surnamed Panther: that his first wife was of the tribe of Judah, that he had by her six children, four sons and two daughters: that James, surnamed Olbias, was his eldest son; that he was born when his

(u) Τῆς δὲ ἀδελφῆς αὐτῆς φασὶ τινεὶ εἶναι, ἐκ παρὰδοσεως οὐκ ὀρθοί, τὴν ἐπιγεγραμμένην κατὰ Πέτρον εὐαγγελίῳ, ἢ τὴν βίβλιν Ἰακώβου, υἱὸς Ἰωσήφ ἐκ προτέρας γυναικὸς. Origen. T. xi. in Matt. Vel. ex Huet. edit. T. 1. p. 223. A. B.

(x) Ἰακώβον τὸν τῇ κυρίῳ λεγόμενον ἀδελφόν, ὅτι δὴ καὶ ὅτος τῇ Ἰωσήφ ὀνομαστοπαίς. Ecc. Hist. L. 2. c. 1. B.

(y) Ad. Her. 29. n. 2, 3, and 51. n. 10.

(z) Ibid. 79. n. 7, 8.

his father was about forty years of age: that his next son was Jose, and then Simeon and Judas: that his two daughters were named Mary and Salome: that he continued many years a widower, and when he was about eighty years old, married Mary. SECT. 11.

This same opinion was embraced by many other of the Greek Fathers. (a) From this account, it appears to have been an opinion generally received in the primitive ages.

SECT. XII. *Passages in Epiphanius referring to the Gospel of the Nativity, and the Protevangelion.*

MR. Jones mentions two places more in Epiphanius, SECT. 12. where there seem to be references to the two foregoing gospels. The first is as follows, (b) “When lots were cast for the widowers and unmarried of every tribe, to determine who should take the virgins, which were in the temple; (for it was the custom, that the first born of both sexes should be devoted to the temple service,) he (Joseph) was obliged by the necessity of the lot, to take the holy virgin Mary.” This is agreeable to the account given us both in the gospel of Mary, and the Protevangelion. The other reference is in a tract ascribed to Epiphanius, but generally supposed not to be his. (c) The purport of it is, that Joachim and Anna were the names of the father, and mother of

(a) Jones's Canon. N. T. p. 172. Pearson on the Creed, p. 175. ar. iii. Sixt. Senens. Biblio. Sanct. L. 6. p. 455. Annot. 64. Vales. An. in Euf. H. Ecc. L. 2. c. 1.

(b) Ancoratus. V. 2. c. 60.

(c) Oratio de Laud. Vir. Mar. V. 2. p. 292.

SECT. 12. of the virgin: that Joachim retired into the wilderness, where he prayed for issue; and Anna into the garden on the same account; and that their prayers were answered, by the birth of Mary. The whole of this is in the Protevangelion; and the greater part in the gospel of the Nativity of Mary.

S E C T. XIII. *Observations on some of the Contents of these two Gospels.*

SECT. 13. **T**H E perpetual virginity of the Virgin mentioned in both these gospels, and pretended to be confirmed by the testimony of the midwife, was a favourite opinion among the antient Christians.

If we will pay any attention to what is said in the letter of Pope Innocent the first, (*d*) Leucius was the author of this gospel, as well as of that of the Nativity. For he informs us, that the writings under the names of Matthew, and of James the less, meaning thereby the gospel of the Nativity, and the Protevangelion, were forged by Leucius. This last also was a work of the second century; for it is referred to by Origen as before observed. (*e*) It is called the 'book of James, because both at the beginning and end, James is said to be the author.

The story of the midwife (*f*) was undoubtedly invented, to make us believe, that Christ was not really a man, but only one

(*d*) Cætera autem quæ sub nomine Matthæi, sive Jacobi minoris, vel sub nomine Petri et Johannis, quæ a quodam Leucio scripta sunt. . . non solum repudianda verum noveris esse damnanda. *Innocent. Ep. 3. ad. Exuper. c. 7. Ap. Concil. Labb. T. 2. p. 6. 125.*

(*e*) Vide p. 300. note (*u*) of this chapter.

(*f*) Καὶ ἐξηλθεν ἡ μαία ἀπὸ τῆς σπηλαίας, καὶ ἀπηντήσεν αὐτῇ Σαλωμὴ, καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῇ ἡ μαία, Σαλωμὴ, Σαλωμὴ, καὶ νῦν σοὶ δέσμιον ἐξήγησμαι, παρθεὺς ἐγέννησεν, ὃ ἃ χωρεῖ ἡ φύσις. εἶπε δὲ Σαλωμὴ· Ζῆ κύριος ὁ Θεὸς μὲν, ὅτι εἰ μὴ κατανοήσω τὴν φύσιν αὐτῆς, ἢ μὴ πιστεύσω, ὅτι ἡ παρθεὺς ἐγέννησε. Ἡλθε δὲ Σαλωμὴ, καὶ εἶπε

one in appearance. This was a story current in the second century, as appears from Clemens Alexandrinus. (g) As perpetual virginity is also strongly inculcated in this apocryphal piece, it accords entirely with the sentiments of Leucius, and very probably he was the author. SECT. 13.

SECT. XIV. *Leucius is thought to have interpolated the Gospel of the Infancy.*

THE gospel of the Infancy of our Saviour is supposed SECT. 14.
by Mr. La Croze, to have been forged by some Nestorians. But it is more likely, to have been the work of the Gnostics, or rather of that sect of them called (b) Marcotians. Irenæus refers (i) to this gospel, and says it was received by them, and indeed owed its existence to their forgeries. Epiphanius has quoted this passage from Irenæus, (k) and therefore gives his testimony to the same. This gospel is joined with that of the Nativity of Mary, and ranked among apocryphal books, (l) by the author of the letter from Chromatius and Heliodorus to Jerome. Dr. Mill thinks, that (m) the gospel
of

εἶπε ἡ Μαρία, Μαρία, σχηματίσθον σεαυτὴν, ὅ γὰρ μικρὸς ἀγὼν περιεχεται περὶ σὲ. καὶ ἐσημειώσατο Σαλωμὴ, καὶ ἐξήραυθη ἡ χεὶρ αὐτῆς. *Prot-evangelion. c. 19, 20.*

(g) Ἀλλὰ ὡς εἴκεν τοῖς πολλοῖς, καὶ μεχρὶ οὐν δοκεῖ ἡ Μαρίαμ λέγω εἶναι διὰ τὴν τῆ παιδὸς γέννησιν, ὅτι ὅσα λέγω. καὶ γὰρ μετὰ τὸ τεκεῖν αὐτὴν μειώθεισαν, φασὶ τινες παρθενοῦ εἰρεθίζουσαι. *Strom. L. 7. p. 756. B. C.*

(b) *Beauf. Hist. de Man. T. 1. L. 2. c. 3. No. 6. p. 368. Jones's Can. N. T. V. 2. p. 208, and 283.*

(i) Πρὸς δὲ τῇ τοῖς ἀμυδρῶν πληθὺς ἀποκρυφῶν καὶ τοῶν γραφῶν ὡς αὐτοὶ ἐπλάσαν προσεισ-

φέρουσιν . . . ὡς τὸ Κύριον, τὰ διὰ τῆ διδασκαλῆς αὐτῷ φησάντος, καθὼς εἶδος ἐστὶν, εἶπε ἀλφά, ἀποκρίνασθαι τὸ ἀλφά. πάλιν τε τὸ βῆτα τῆ διδασκαλῆς κελευσάντος εἰπεῖν ἀποκρίνασθαι τοῦ Κυρίου σύ μοι πρῶτον εἶπε τί ἐστὶν τὸ ἀλφά καὶ τὸ τε σοὶ ἐγώ. κ. τ. λ. *Adv. Hær. L. 1. c. 17. Gr.*

(k) *Ad. Hær. 34. No. 18. p. 253. C. D.*

(l) *Ortum Mariæ Reginae Virginis simul et Nativitatem atque infantiam Domini nostri Jesu Christi, in Apocryphis invenimus Libris. Apud Hieron. Op. part 2. Tra. 2. Ep. 23.*

(m) *Prol. in N. T. p. 37. c. 1.*

of the Infancy, was generally joined to the gospel of the Nativity of Mary. The passage just quoted from the epistle of Chromatius, as far as that is to be depended on, certainly confirms it: as doth the answer attributed to Jerome, (*n*) who considered it as part of the task assigned him to translate the account of the Infancy of our Saviour. The Dr. also believes, that though it was not originally a composition of Leucius, yet it was altered and interpolated by him, receiving from thence the addition of several idle stories. Mr. Jones is of opinion, (*o*) that it was first forged by the Gnostics, in the beginning of the second century, that it was frequently joined to, or considered as a second part of the gospel of Mary, or of the Protevangelion; that Leucius was so far concerned in altering, and interpolating it, that he was considered by some as its author. There are certain things in it, which are undoubtedly of later invention, such as the prodigious respect paid to the Virgin Mary, and the attention to the preservation of reliques. These were probably added by some Asiatic Christians of later times, whom La Croze (*p*) supposes to have been the first authors of this book.

(*n*) Qui ad Servatoris nostri infantiam sanctam per nostram potuerint obedientiam pervenire. *Hieron. Op. pt. 2. Tr. 2. Ep. 24.*

(*o*) Jones's Canon. vol. 2. p. 316. 321.

(*p*) Croxii Epif. ap. Fab. Cod. Apo. N. T. T. 3. p. 421. Jones's Can. vol. 2. p. 316.

SECT. XV. *He was the Forger of the Gospel of Nicodemus.*

THE gospel of Nicodemus, or the acts of Pilate, as it SECT. 15.
is otherwise called, was also a forgery of our Leucius. There were probably some accounts (*q*) transmitted by Pilate to Tiberius, concerning the transactions relative to Jesus Christ. Because it was always customary for the Roman governors, to send annually from their provinces, a relation of the most material transactions, to the Senate or Emperor; especially if any thing new or extraordinary happened. This Eusebius expressly tells (*r*) us was the case in the present instance. Justin Martyr, the first and most antient apologist for the truth of the Christian religion, appeals to these accounts, (*s*) in his address to the Emperor Marcus Antoninus. (*t*) But whether such accounts were really transmitted by Pilate or not; it is evident, a report of this kind was current early in the second century.

From hence the hint was taken; and to this the present forgery owes its origin. A great part of this piece (*u*) is
R r taken

(*q*) Jones's *Can.* vol. 2. p. 404.

(*r*) Παλαιὸν κεραιτηκότος ἔδης τοῖς τῶν ἐθνῶν ἀρχαῖς, τὰ παρὰ σφίσι καινοτομημένα τῷ τῆν βασιλεῖον ἀρχὴν ἐπικρατῆντι σημαίνειν, ὡς αὐτὸν μὴ δὲν αὐτὸν διὰ διδασκῶν τῶν γιγνομένων, τὰ περὶ τῆς ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστάσεως τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς πάντας ἡδὴ καὶ ὅλης παλαιστίνης βεβησμένα, Πιλάτος Τιβερίῳ βασιλεὶ κοινῆται· ὡς τὰς τε ἀλλὰς αὐτῆς πυδομένους τερατείαις, καὶ ὡς ὅτι μετὰ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστα ἡδὴ Θεὸς εἶναι παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐπετίθεντο. *Ecc. Hist. L. 2. c. 2 p. 40. C. D.*

(*f*) Καὶ ταῦτα ὅτι γεγόνε δύνασθε μαθεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ Πόντιῳ Πιλάτῳ γενομένων αὐτῶν. *Ap. 2. p. 76. D.*

Ὅτι τε ταῦτα ἐποίησεν, ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ Πόντιῳ Πιλάτῳ γενομένων αὐτῷ μαθεῖν δύνασθε. *Ibid. p. 84. C.*

The former of these refers to his crucifixion, the latter to his working miracles.

(*t*) *Cred. P. 2. vol. 1. c. 10. p. 259. first edit.*

(*u*) See this gospel in Jones's *Canon. v. 2. p. 322, 401. but particularly from p. 370, 396.*

SECT. 15. taken up, in giving an account of things seen in the other world by Charinus and Lenthius, and which they are said to have written down. Now as Mr. Jones observes, (x) this is no other than Leucius Charinus. They are said indeed to be the names of the two sons of Simeon. But every one knows, they are not Hebrew, but Greek or Roman names. Our Leucius seems therefore to have been the first framer of a book of this kind. But there are most certainly in the present copies, interpolations, or additions to what he originally composed. Such as the signing themselves with the sign of the cross, before they began to relate the things they had seen: the descent of Jesus into hell, to fetch the patriarchs thence: his address to all his saints, commanding them to live by the word of his cross; and his signing them with the sign of the cross, before they were led into paradise; and many other things of a like sort; all of which strongly favour of the superstition of later ages. This will account for it's being said, the vision was written down by Lenthius and Charinus. The forger who lived in after times, probably took this part from a piece of that author; adding to it, what appeared proper to accommodate it to his own view of things: so that a great part of it may be justly attributed to our Leucius.

From the form of expression in the beginning of the 27th chapter, Charinus and Lenthius seem to have been but one person, (y) though afterwards to give the air of a miraculous authenticity to their vision, they are multiplied into two distinct persons, each of which wrote an account of the vision
on

(x) *Jones's Canon. p. 418, 20.*

(y) *Ego Charinus et Lenthius. Evan. Nic. c. 27. Apud Jones. p. 394, 5.*

on different papers, one of which was given into the hands of Annas, Caiaphas, and Gamaliel; the other into the hands of Nicodemus, and Joseph; and upon comparing them they were found to be the same verbatim, et literatim. But I forbear to enlarge on some other absurdities contained in it. Since the whole may be seen in Jones, as before referred to. And both he and Beaufobre, (z) have made some good observations on its contents. SECT. 15.

SECT. XVI. *Two other Gospels ascribed to Leucius.*

THERE are two other gospels mentioned by Beaufobre, SECT. 16.
(a) as attributed to Leucius. One of which, Grabe in his notes on Irenæus, (b) says, is preserved in MS. at Oxford. This, Beaufobre thinks is no other than the gospel of the Infancy, already spoken of. Grabe agrees with them. For the passage he quotes from thence, proves it plain enough, though it varies a little from the other copy published by Sike.

The other mentioned by Beaufobre, is the gospel of Peter, which Grabe (c) also assures us is a forgery of Leucius. There was a spurious book under this title, which was mentioned and confuted by Serapion, as hath been already ob-

R r 2

served.

(z) Jones ubi sup. p. 402, 430. Beauf. *Hif. de Manich.* vol. 1. p. 370, 375.

(a) *Hif. Man.* vol. 1. p. 375. n. 3.

(b) Nec non, licet Paulo diversum in Pseudo-Evangeliis Leucii, quod MS. hic Oxonii extat in Bibliotheca C. C. C. ubi capite quomodo Jesus discendus erat literas, hæc leguntur. Et capit magister impiose

(l. imperiose) eum docere dicendo: Dic Alpha. Jesus vero dixit ei: Tu mihi dic prius, quid sit Beta, et Ego dicam tibi quid sit Alpha; et ob hæc Magister Iratus percussit Jesum, et postquam percussit eum, mortuus est. Ir. L. 1. c. 17. v. 4. p. 86.

(c) Vide p. 292. note (t) of this chapter: or Spic. Pat. T. 1. p. 58.

served. (*d*) It is also mentioned by Origen, in his Commentary on Matthew. (*e*) Dr. Mill (*f*) is of the same opinion, that Lucius was the author of it. It appears indeed very probable from Serapion's words, who says, (*g*) that he borrowed it from some of the followers of Marcian, (Marcion,) whom he calls Docetes, and that they used it. This agrees exactly to the followers of Leucius, who was himself a follower of Marcion, and one of the chief of the Docetes, and who it is very likely forged this piece, under the name of Peter.

Pope Innocent (*b*) in his decree concerning the canonical books, says, that those writings which go under the names of Peter and John were composed by Leutius, and were apocryphal.

These are all the gospels, which I can find ascribed to Leucius, either as the author or interpolater.

(*d*) *P. 2. vol. 2. p. 557,—562. second edit.*

(*e*) *Vide p. 300. note (u) of this chapter.*

(*f*) *Eidem porro adscripta sunt ab Innocentio quæ sub Petri nomine exiere. Certe in Evangelio κατὰ Πέτρον, notatus est a Serapione, qui de Evangelio isto librum edidit,*

error δοκητων, cui addictum fuisse Leucium testatur Photius. Prol. p. 37.

(*g*) *Εδυνηθημεν γὰρ παρὰ ἄλλων τῶν ἀσκησάντων αὐτὸ τὸ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου (Πέτρον) τῆτις παρὰ τῶν διαδοχῶν τῶν καταρξαμένων αὐτὸ (Μαρκεῖαν) ὡς δοκητὰς καλεῖται. Euf. Ec. H. L. 6. c. 12. p. 213, 4. D. A.*

(*b*) *Vide p. 302. n. (d) of this chap.*

SECT. XVII. *Of the Traditions of Matthias.**It is rather uncertain what they were.*

THE traditions of Matthias are supposed both by Grabe SECT. 17.
(i) and Mill, *(k)* to be the same with the gospel of Matthias; and the latter *(l)* thinks Leucius interpolated these, though he did not forge them. But I cannot agree with them in this point. For I think the decree of Pope Innocent to which Dr. Mill refers, means the gospel of the Nativity of Mary, by the writings under the name of Matthias. *(m)* Origen *(n)* and Eusebius *(o)* probably referred to the same, or to the Nazarene gospel, when they speak of the gospel of Matthias. Ambrose *(p)* also in all likelihood meant one, or other of these. Jerome seems *(q)* to intend by the gospel of Matthias, the gospel of the Nativity; and by a spurious one

(i) Inter Evangelia mala hæreticorum fide nominibus Apostolorum supposita, Matthiæ quoque adscriptum aliquod memorat Eusebius. *Lib. 3. Hist. Eccles. cap. 25.* Quod idem esse puto cum παραδοσεις traditionibus a Clemente Alexandrino memoratis; quia Evangelia scribebantur καθως παρεδοσαν οι απ αρχης αυτοπται και υπηρξαι γενομενοι τε λογοι. *Spic. Pat. sec. 2. T. 2. p. 117.*

(k) Mihi sane videntur παραδοσεις istæ ex ore Matthiæ in Judea prædicantis initio exceptæ fuisse a Christiano quopiam, et in libellum redactæ; cui ad majorem traditionibus istis auctoritatem conciliandam Apostoli nomen præfixerit, actor quisquis ille fuerit. . . post editionem *Canonicorum Evangeliorum*, in desuetudinem abiit. *Prolog. in N. T. sec. 53. p. 7.*

(l) Quin et παραδοσεις Matthiæ a primævorum Christianorum aliquo compositas, quod diximus, falsis absurdisque narrationibus passim intersperfit hic ipse impostor, ut ex Innocentio colligimus. *Ibid. sec. 337. p. 37.*

(m) See p. 302. n. *(d)* of this chapter.

(n) Scio Evangelium. . . quod appellatur juxta Matthiam, &c. *Hom. in Luc. 1. in init.*

(o) Ητοι ως Πιτρει και Θωμα και Ματθαια . . . τετρες ευαγγελια περιεσχυσας. *Hist. Ecc. L. 3. c. 25.*

(p) *Præf. in Com. in Lucam in init.*

(q) Quæ a diversis auctoribus edita, diversarum hæresium fuere principia; ut est illud juxta Matthiam. *Præf. in Comm. in Matthæ.*

SECT. 17. one ascribed to Matthew, (*r*) if really different from the former, the Nazarene gospel, or that of the twelve apostles. It is mentioned by Gelasius according to some copies, but his words will determine nothing in this dispute.

These traditions of Matthias are mentioned under that name by Clemens (*f*) Alexandrinus, and by him only. These Mr. Jones thinks (*t*) were only oral traditions, and not therefore to be inserted among the forgeries of Leucius, though placed to his account by Dr. Mill, who says, he at least interpolated them. Beaufobre (*u*) mentions traditions, as spoken of by Clemens Alexandrinus, in a small piece of his on the first epistle of John; which he imagines to be part of the false or forged acts, of which Leucius was the author, and of which I shall presently take notice. In some copies of the decrees of Gelasius, mention is made of apocryphal acts under the name of Matthias. These may be the forged acts of Leucius, to which I proceed.

(*r*) In Evangelio juxta Hæbreos, quod Chaldaico Syroque sermone sed Hebraicis literis scriptum est, quo utuntur usque hodie Nazarei, secundum Apostolos five ut plerique autumant juxta Matthæum. *Id. Dial. ad. Pelag. L. 3. Ep. 17. in init.*

(*f*) Grabe has inserted two fragments from Clemens. *Vide Spic. Pat. sec. 2. T. 2. p. 117.* Jones has added three more.

Can. N. T. p. 317, 18. Beaufobre has inserted another from Cotelerius, which is downright Docetism, and of which probably Leucius was the author. It is likely therefore to have been in the spurious acts or travels of John. *Beauf. Hist. Man. T. 1. p. 383. n. 4.*

(*t*) Jones's *Can. N. T. p. 318, 23.*

(*u*) See note (*f*) immediately preceding.

SECT. XVIII. *Leucius was the Author of the forged Acts, or Journeying of the Apostles.*

THIS book was called the Acts or Journeyings of the SECT. 18.
Apostles; and according to Mill, (x) it contained the
Acts of Peter, of John, of Andrew, and of Thomas. The
Acts of Peter are mentioned by Eusebius, (y) by Athanasius,
(z) or whoever was the author of the Synopsis attributed to
him, by Philaster, (a) by Jerom, (b) and by Epiphanius. (c)
The Acts of John are mentioned by all the foregoing writers,
(d) except Jerom. They are also spoken of by Austin. (e)
The Acts of Andrew are mentioned by most of the foregoing
writers, (f) and by Gelasius in his decree. The Acts of
Thomas are spoken of by several of the same persons. The
Acts of Paul also are mentioned by Origen, (g) and by Euse-
bius and Philaster, in the places before referred to.

These all are expressly condemned by Photius, (h) who
had perused the books, and asserts, that they plainly spoke
their author to be Leucius Charinus. Leucius is thrice said
to

(x) *Proleg. in N. T. p. 37.*

(y) Τογε μὴν τῶν ἐπισκεκλημένων αὐτῆς (Πέτρῳ)
πραξέων . . . ἡ δὲ ὁλως ἐν καθολικοῖς ἰσμεν παρα-
διδόμενα. *Ecc. Hif. L. 3. c. 3. p. 72. A.*

(z) Περίοδοι Πέτρῳ . . . ταῦτα εἰσι . . .
ῥῶδα καὶ ἀποβλήτα. *In Synops. initio.*

(a) *Actus beati et Petri similiter Apostoli.*
Hær. 87.

(b) *In Catal. V. J. in Petro. c. 1.*

(c) *Hær. 30. n. 15. p. 139. B.*

(d) *Euf. H. E. L. 3. c. 25. Athan. in*
Synop. init. Phil. H. 87. Epi. H. 47. n. 1.
p. 406. A.

(e) *Con. Adver. Leg. et Pro. L. 1. c. 20.*
T. 6. p. 195. c. 1. Opp. Venet.

(f) *Euf. E. H. L. 3. c. 25. Phil. Hær.*
87. Epiph. Hær. 47. n. 1. 61. n. 1. 63.
n. 2.

(g) *De Prin. L. 1. c. 2. Comm. in Joan.*
T. 21. opp. vel T. 2. p. 298. Huet.

(h) Ἀνεγνωσθῆ βιβλίον αἰ λεγόμεναι τῶν Ἀπο-
στόλων περίοδοι, ἐν αἷς περιεῖχοντο πράξεις Πέτρῳ,
Ἰωάννῃ, Ἀνδρῆ, Θωμᾷ, Παύλῳ. Γραφεὶ δὲ αὐτάς,
ὡς δηλοῖ τὸ αὐτὸ βιβλίον, Λευκίος Χάρινος. *Cod.*
114.

to be the author of them by Austin. (*i*) Jerome (*k*) in the epistle ascribed to him, in answer to Chromatius and Heliodorus, and in the preface to the translation of the gospel of Mary's Nativity says; Leucius was the author of the spurious Acts of the Apostles. In the three quotations from Austin, it is observable, he is called by three different names. There can therefore be no reason to doubt, but the same person, and the same books are meant in the decree of Pope Innocent, though he goes by different names. (*l*) As the author of the Acts of Peter and John he is called Leucius. But as the author of the Acts of Andrew, he is increased into two persons, Xenocharides and Leonides, with the title philosophers adjoined. Mr. Jones (*m*) hath made it appear very probable, that these two names, were a corruption of Charinus and Leucius. For as names were written contractedly in the ancient MSS. and as $\xi\upsilon\omega\varsigma$ might be prefixed to denote his strange doctrines, being used by the fathers in that sense, an ignorant scribe might easily mistake, and change the words $\xi\upsilon\omega\varsigma$ and $\chi\epsilon\varsigma$, the contracted way of writing $\chi\alpha\epsilon\iota\omega\varsigma$, into $\xi\upsilon\omega\chi\alpha\epsilon\iota\delta\epsilon\varsigma$. And Leonides

(*i*) Attendite in actibus Leucii quos sub nomine Apostolorum scribit. *De Fid. Con.*

Man. c. 38. T. 6. opp. F. 186. c. 4. Ven.

In actibus conscriptis a Lenticio (l. Leucio) quos tanquam actus Apostolorum scribit. *Act. cum Fel. Mani. L. 2. c. 6. T. 6. opp. F. 165. c. 1, 2. Ven.*

In actibus etiam conscriptis a Leontio. (l. Leucio) *De Fide. Ec. c. 5.*

The same person and the same book is here referred to; for exactly the same words are quoted from this spurious piece in the two last references.

(*k*) Sed factum est a . . . Leucio qui etiam Apostolorum gesta conscripsit. *Hieron.*

Op. T. 5. p. 445. Vel P. 2. Tr. 2. Ep. 24. fol. 38.

Quidam namque Leucius qui passiones Apostolorum conscripsit. *Ibid. p. 25. F. 38, 39. Vel Ep. 82. fol. 140.*

(*l*) Cætera quæ sub nomine Petri et Johannis quæ a quodam Leucio scripta sunt, vel sub nomine Andreæ, quæ a Xenocharide (l. Xenocharide) et Leonide philosophis, non solum repudianda verum etiam noveris esse damnanda. *Inno. Ap. ad Exup. 3. c. 7. Ep. Con. Lab. T. 2. p. 1256.*

(*m*) *Jones's Canon. vol. 1. p. 309, 310.*

nides is not further from Leucius, than Leontius and Lenticus are from one another. Though the same person is undoubtedly meant in Austin by these two names. (n) SECT. 18.

SECT. XIX. *Some Account of the Contents of this Book.*

THIS book of the Acts or Journeyings of the Apostles, SECT. 19. contained a number of idle ridiculous stories. One of which is given in the margin (o) from Austin, or whoever was the author of the book de Fide. One part of this story seems to be the interpolation of some one after Leucius, for he who was in some sort of the sect of the Encratites, could never approve of the prostitution of a christian servant, to a heathen husband, instead of the wife. That he might insert something concerning the scruples of Maximilla, is consistent with his avowed principles, and therefore not improbable.

In the commentaries which go under the name of Clement of Alexandria, these Journeyings of the Apostles are probably referred to, and a passage cited from them, (p) which says,

S f that

(n) See p. 312. note (i)

(o) Qualia sint quæ accipitis de Maximilla uxore Egetis: quæ cum nollet marito debitum reddere, cum Apostolus dixerit uxori vir debitum reddat, similiter et uxor viro, illa supposuerit marito suo Aneillam suam Eucliam nomine, exornans eam sicut ibi scriptum est, adversariis lenociniis et fucationibus, et eam nocte pro se vicariam supponeus, ut ille nesciens cum ea tanquam cum uxore concumberet. *De Fide. T. 6. opp. F. 187. 1, 2.* See the remainder of this story, p. 312. note (i) of this chapter.

(p) Cum quo consentiunt fabulosæ illæ traditiones citatæ in commentariolis quæ sub Clementis Alexandrini nomine prodierunt

ad 1 Joh. i. 1. dum in iis fertur Johannes Corpus externum Christi tangendo, manum suam in profunda misisse, duritia carnis nullo modo ei reluctantante sed locum manu præbente discipuli. *Cote. notæ in Ign. Ep. ad Smyrnæ. p. 37. n. 7. Ed. Cleric. (*)*

(*) I cannot help observing here that this epistle to the Smyrneans proves that the word *δαίμονια* was used by the primitive Christians for the souls of dead men. For Christ says after his resurrection to Peter and those who were with him, handle me and see, for I am not *δαίμονιον ἀσώματον*. a human soul raised from the dead without a body. *Epist. ad Smyr. p. 34, 5. Ed. Cleric. See before Ar. Basilides, c. 2. sheet (n) sec. 14.*

SECT. 19. that John attempting to touch the body of Christ, perceived no hardness of the flesh, and met with no resistance from it, but thrust his hand into the inner part. This is perfectly agreeable to the opinion of Leucius, who was one of the chief of the Docetes.

S E C T. XX. *These Forgeries prove the Truth of the Canonical Scriptures.*

SECT. 20. **O**NE obvious conclusion to be drawn from this long account of the forgeries of Leucius is, that the scriptures of the New Testament, particularly the Gospels, and Acts of the Apostles, were then received with distinguished respect, and regarded as writings of great authority. Otherwise he would not have thought of publishing books under the names of the Evangelists and Apostles.

Besides, these forged writings do not oppose, but confirm the general account, given us in the canonical scriptures. They all take for granted the dignity of our Lord's person, and his power of working miracles; they acknowledge the certainty of there having been such persons as Matthew, and the other evangelists; and Peter, and the other apostles. They authenticate the general and leading facts contained in the New Testament. They presuppose that the apostles received from Christ a commission to propagate his religion, and a supernatural power to enforce it's authority. And thus they indirectly establish the truth, and divine original of the gospel.

C H A P. XII.

Of A P E L L E S.

PART I. *His History.*S E C T. I. *Of his Time.*

A PELLÉS is not in Irenæus, nor Clement of Alexan- SECT. I.
dria. Nevertheless several several ancient authors have
spoken of him. He is often mentioned by Tertullian in his
books against Marcion, and elsewhere. Tertullian published
a treatise against his (*a*) followers. But it is not extant.
Apelles is also mentioned several times by (*b*) Origen.

Apelles is spoken of by Basnage (*c*) in the year 141. Til-
lemont thinks he lived about (*d*) the year 180. Cave placeth
him (*e*) at the year 188. As Apelles was acquainted with
Marcion, and (*f*) was an old man in Rhodon's time, who
flourished (*g*) about the year 190, I think we may place him
at about 160.

(*a*) Et hoc suo loco tractavimus. Nam
est nobis adversus illos libellus. *De Carne*
Christi. c. 8. p. 365. D. vel 303. Fra. 1597.

(*b*) Et Marciones quidem, et Basilides,
et Valentiniani, et Apelleiani, et Ophitæ,
multum a propofita errant via, qui omnino
contraria sapiunt veritati. *Orig. Comm. in*
Matt. T. 3. p. 852. D.

(*c*) Ex schola Marcionis multæ sectæ
prodierunt: unius autem caput fuit Apelles.

a virgine quadam Demoniacæ nomine Phi-
lumene in errorem inducitur. *Ann. Pol.*
Ecc. An. 141. n. 4. p. 88.

(*d*) *Mem. Ec. T. 2. Les Marcionites,*
art. x.

(*e*) *Hist. Lit. T. 1.*

(*f*) *Vide Euseb. H. E. l. 5. cap. 13.*

(*g*) *See Credib. vol. 2. ch. 28. n. 14.*
p. 689, 690.

SECT. II. *Of his Connection with Philumene.*

SECT. 2.

APELLES was at first (*b*) a disciple of Marcion. But he made some alteration in his system, as we are assured by several. Tertullian (*i*) and others say, it was owing to instructions, which he received from Philumene, a virgin, who pretended to prophetic illuminations. And it is sometimes said, particularly by Tertullian, that (*k*) Apelles was guilty of some act of sensuality, contrary to the strictness of the Marcionite institution. But what it was is not clearly (*l*) said. If it had been fornication, it would have been said plainly. We might therefore be led to think, that Apelles had married. But even that is not certain. Yea there is some evidence to the contrary: as may appear hereafter.

(*b*) Credunt aliqui Marcioni. Sed non est discipulus supra magistrum. Hoc et meminisse debuerat Apelles Marcionis de discipulo emendator. *Tertul. adv. M. L. 4. cap. 17. p. 529. A. vel 421, 50.*

Quasi non eadem licentia hæretica et ipse potuisset, aut admissa carne nativitatem negare, ut Apelles discipulus, et postea defector ipsius. *De Carne Christi. c. 1. p. 358. B. vel 298. 18.*

Vide et Epiph. H. 44. n. 1.

(*i*) Providerat et tum spiritus sanctus futurum in virgine quadam Philumene angelum seductionis transfigurantem se in angelum lucis, cujus signis et præstigiis Apelles inductus novam hæresim induxit. *De Pr. Hæ. c. 6. p. 232. C. p. 202. 49.*

(*k*) Si et Apellis stemma retractandum est, tam non vetus et ipse, quam Marcion institutor et præformator ejus. Sed lapsus in feminam, defector conti-

nentiæ Marcionensis, ab oculis sanctissimi magistri Alexandriam secessit. Inde post annos regressus non melior, nisi qua tantum non Marcionites, in alteram feminam impexit Philumenem, quam supra edidimus, postea vero immane prostibulum et ipsam, cujus energumate circumventus, quas ab ea didicit Phaneroses scripsit. *De Pr. c. 30. p. 242. B. p. 209. 35.*

Pervenimus igitur. . . a Marcione ad Apellem, qui postea quam a disciplina Marcionis in mulierem carne lapsus, dehinc in virginem Philumenem spiritu eversus est. *De C. Christi c. 6. p. 362. C. D. p. 301. 10.*

(*l*) Hos subsequitur Apelles, discipulus Marcionis, qui posteaquam in carnem suam lapsus est, a Marcione segregatus est. *App. ad Tertull. de Pr. c. 51. p. 254. A. p. 217. 23.*

SECT.

S E C T. III. *No Foundation for the Story of
his Incontinence.*

BEAUSOBRE says, there (*m*) are good reasons to sus- SECT. 3.
pect that story to be false. One reason is the testimony
given to Apelles by Rhodon, in Eusebius: who says, that
(*n*) he was venerable for his age, and abstemious course of
life. Rhodon, who had a conference with Apelles, and con-
futed him, would not have spoken thus of a man, who lay
under the charge of shameful conduct. Secondly, in all pro-
bability the woman intended is (*o*) Philumene, that fanatical
virgin, who affected to be thought a prophetess, and who,
as is said, persuaded Apelles, that the Old Testament was not
a divine revelation. Thirdly, St. Jerome contents himself
with saying, that (*p*) Apelles had Philumene an associate with
him in sentiments: without adding any thing else dishonor-
able to the one or the other. In short, Tertullian should
not have touched this string. Apelles was as good as Mon-
tanus; and Philumene equal to Priscilla and Maximilla, his
prophetesses.

I beg

(*m*) *Hist. de Manich. T. 2. p. 78, 79.*

(*n*) Ἀπελλῆς μὲν ὁ τῇ πολιτείᾳ σεμνυνομένης,
καὶ τῷ γῆρα. *Eus. L. 5. c. 13. p. 177. B.*

(*o*) Tertullian speaks of another woman,
beside Philumene. Nevertheless Cave too
understands this affair to relate to Philu-
mene. *Erat Alexandria puella, Philumene*
dicta, quæ a dæmone obsessa mira fecit, et
responſa tanquam oracula reddidit. . . hanc
puellam adamavit Apelles, et postea com-

preſſit. Cav. H. L. p. 85. I do not need
to concern myself about that point. But
I think I shew by the considerations, which
are above, that these are no sufficient proofs
that Apelles was guilty of impurity with
any woman whatever.

(*p*) Apelles Philumenem suarum habuit
comitem doctrinarum. *Ad. Ctes. T. 4. p.*
477. Bened.

SECT. 3.

I beg leave to add, that Rhodon, and divers other writers, who give an account of Apelles, and speak of Philumene, as a visionary woman, and his instructress, say nothing scandalous of either. And farther, according to Tertullian himself, (*q*) Apelles, notwithstanding his differing from Marcion in some respects, still continued to condemn marriage. Which makes me think, that Apelles never married: and therefore, very probably, never did any thing worse than marrying. Such a behaviour must have been loudly censured by all ecclesiastical writers in general. It could not be omitted by any. For Tertullian's hints relate to something, supposed to be done after Apelles was become a scholar of Marcion; not something done in very early life, but after mature age. Which renders it less likely to be omitted by any writers of heresies: if indeed any thing very scandalous had been done by him. What therefore is said of Marcion's displeasure against Apelles, in all likelihood ought to be understood of some difference of opinion, and of Apelles having erected a new sect; and having drawn several of Marcion's disciples into his scheme, and that by the assistance of the virgin Philumene, who is often spoken of as a woman pretending to inspiration. To the passages already referred to, or quoted, others (*r*) might be added. But I do not think it proper to put down here the silly story about her, as it is in some editions

(*q*) Timotheum instruens nuptiarum quoque interdictores fuggillat. Ita instituunt Marcion et Apelles ejus secutor. *De Pr.* c. 33. p. 243. *D.* p. 210. 39.

(*r*) Et angelo quidem illius Philumene eadem voce Apostolus respondebit. . . dicens: Etiam si angelus de cœlis aliter evangeli-

zaverit vobis, quam nos evangelizavimus, anathema sit. *De Carn. Chr.* c. 6. p. 362. *D.* p. 301. 13.

Æque—ad energema Apelleiacæ virginis Philumenes filium dirigit. *Ibid.* c. 24. p. 378. *A.* p. 311. 21.

editions of Augustin's book of heresies. Especially since the Benedictin edition of St. Augustin have openly and justly declared it to be wanting in the MSS. of that Father's works, and a late addition. SECT. 3.

SECT. IV. *Unjustly accused of discouraging Enquiry.*

IT is sometimes said, that (*f*) Apelles was against all enquiries concerning things of religion. Which seems very unlikely. And Epiphanius tells us, that Apelles (*t*) quoted as from the gospels, and, as a saying of our Saviour, that advice: Be ye good money-changers. Wherefore, says Apelles, we should endeavour to collect what is good from every part of scripture. And Apelles is named by Tertullian (*u*) among other heretics, who recommended inquisitiveness. SECT. 4.

That charge, I suppose, is founded upon (*x*) Rhodon's account of his conference. The case seems to be this. Rhodon pressed Apelles very hard. Apelles answered, that the knowledge of God was a very difficult thing: that exactness in matters of an abstruse nature was not of the utmost importance. And supposing him, to err in some points, yet he

(*f*) Fidem denique Christianam examini qualicunque subjici noluit. *Cav. Ibid.*

(*t*) Οὕτως γὰρ, φησιν, ἐφ' ἃ ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ ἦν δοκιμοὶ τραπέζονται. Χρὼ γὰρ, φησιν, ἀπο πάσης γραφῆς ἀναλεγων τὰ χρησιμα. *Ερ. H. 43. n. 2. p. 382. B.*

(*u*) Ubi enim erit finis quærendi? . . . Apud Marcionem? Sed Valentinus proponit: quærite, et invenietis. Apud Valentinam? Sed et Apelles hac me pronuntiatione pulsabit. *De Pr. c. 10. p. 234. D. p. 204. 23.*

(*x*) Οθεν καὶ ἐφ' ἧς, μὴ δεῖν ὅλως ἐξετάζειν τὸν λόγον, ἀλλ' ἕκαστον ὡς πεπενηνὸς διαμενεῖν· σιωθεῖσθαι γὰρ τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν ἐσθωρῶμενον ἡλικίας ἀπεφαινετο· μόνον εἰαν ἐν ἐργοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἐκτελεσθῶνται· τὸ δὲ πάντων ἀσαφὲς αὐτὸν ἐδογματίζετο αὐτῷ πρᾶγμα . . . τὸ περὶ τὰ θεῶν . . . τὸ δὲ πῶς ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ, μὴ γινώσκων εἰλεγειν, αὐτῷ δὲ κινεῖσθαι μόνον . . . μὴ ἐπιστάσθαι, πῶς εἰς ἐστὶν ἀγεννητός θεός, τῆτο δὲ πιστεῖν. Σὺ δὲ γελασας κατεγγων αὐτῷ· διότι διδασκαλός εἶναι λέγων, ἢ κ' ἡδεῖ τὸ διδασκόμενον ὑπ' αὐτῷ κρατυνεῖν. *Αρ. Εὐφ. L. 5, c. 13. p. 177, 178.*

SECT. 4. he hoped, he was not in an unsafe condition. Forasmuch as all who believed in Christ crucified would be saved, if they maintained good works. Here is plainly a testimony to the piety, and I think, to the charitableness of Apelles's principles: though Rhodon, it must be owned, laughs at him, as believing without reason, and in him, whom he did not know. Jerom does the same, speaking of (*y*) Rhodon. But Philaster gives a different turn to that discourse. And understands Apelles to say, that (*z*) he was under no obligation to shew the reasons of his dissent from Marcion, in holding one principle only, whilst he held two. Nor is that interpretation altogether disagreeable to the tenour of Rhodon's account. However it is very probable that Rhodon thought, there was a confusion of ideas in the mind of Apelles.

SECT. V. *Of his Writings.*

SECT. 5. **A**PELLES was an author. His book, or books, if there were two, seem to have contained questions upon difficult texts of the Old Testament. This may be argued from a quotation in Origen, (*a*) relating to Noah's ark, and from another in St. Ambrose, (*b*) concerning the tree of life in

(*y*) Apellem fenem alium hæreticum a se quondam conventum, et risui habitum, eo quod Deum quem coleret, ignorare se diceret. *De V. L. c. 17.*

(*z*) Fuit Apelles discipulus ejus, familia in quibusdam Marcioni prædicans, qui interrogatus a quibusdam, quonam modo de fide sentiret, respondit, non mihi opus est discere a Marcione, ut duo principia adferam coæterna. Ego enim unum principium esse prædico. *Philast. H. 47. p. 97. edit. Fabr.*

(*a*) Επιπορευ τινες, ει δυναται η τηλικαυτη

κιβωτος χωρησαι καν το πολλογον μοριον των επι γης παντων ζων, και μαλιστα Απελλης, ο τε Μαρκιανος γνωριμος, και γενομενος ετερας αιρεσεως παρ εκεινου πατρε, αθετειν εβλομενος ως εχ αγια τα μυνσεως γραμματα· τατο επαφορησας επιφει, το, ψευδης αρα ο μυθος εκ αρα εκ τε θεα ηγραφη. *Orig. in Gen. Hom. 2. T. 2. p. 6162.*

(*b*) Plerique enim, quorum auctor Apelles, sicut habes in trigesimo et octavo tomo ejus has quæstiones proponunt. Quomodo lignum vitæ plus operari videtur ad vitam, quam insufflatio Dei? *Ambr. De Paradiso. cap. 5. T. 2. p. 155. 4.*

in paradise. And as it seems, he there argued against the divine original of the antient scriptures. Both (c) Tertullian and Theodoret (d) intimate, that he wrote a book entitled Philumene's visions, or prophecy. The author of the Additions to Tertullian's book of Prescriptions speaks plainly (e) of two books of Apelles, the visions of Philumene, and another, which he calls Syllogisms. Rhodon says, that (f) Apelles published many, or large writings again the Law of Moses.

S E C T. VI. *His Country rather uncertain.*

I THINK, it is not any where said by Tertullian, or Epi- phanius, or any other antient writer, of what country Apelles was. He first became acquainted with Philumene at Alexandria. But that does not appear to have been the place either of his nativity, or ordinary residence. Rhodon, who had a conference with Apelles in his old age, was (g) of Asia. I think it probable, therefore, that Apelles was of the same country likewise.

This may suffice for the history of Apelles. Let us now observe his peculiar principles.

(c) Cujus energumate circumventus, quas ab ea didicit Phaneroses scripsit. *De Pr. cap. 30. p. 242. B. 209. 39.*

(d) Βιβλίον ουνθείς, Φιλυμενης προφητειαν ωνομασε. *Theod. H. F. L. 1. cap.*

(e) Habet præterea privatas, sed extraordinarias lectiones suas, quas appellat Phaneroses cujusdam puellæ, quam quasi prophetissam sequitur. Habet præterea suos libros, quos inscripsit syllogismorum, in qui-

bus probare vult, quod omnia quæcunque Moyse de Deo scripserit, vera non sint, sed falsa sint. *De Pr. c. 51. p. 254. B. p. 217.*

35

(f) Ο γε τοι Απελλης ουτος μυρια κατα τη μουσεως ησεθησε νομω, δια πλειονων συγγραμματα των της θειας ελασφημησας λογους. *Ap. Euj. p. 178. B. C.*

(g) *Euf. p. 177. A.*

PART II. *Of his peculiar Principles.*SECT. VII. *He believed one first Principle, who created another inferior Deity.*

SECT. 7. **I**T has been already hinted, that Apelles differed from Marcion in several things. For, as Rhodon says, he (*b*) believed one principle. Again: he (*i*) held one principle, as our religion teaches.

Epiphanius says more at large: Apelles (*k*) taught, that there is one God, perfectly good, and one principle, and one power ineffable, or without a name: that this holy and good God, who is over all, made one other God, who made heaven and earth, and all things in this world. I put in the margin (*l*) that part of Philaster's article of Apelles, which relates to this point. Tertullian often speaks of that inferior Deity of Apelles, who made the world, who was only

(*b*) Μίαν αρχὴν ομολογεῖ. *Ap. Euf. p. 177. B.*

(*i*) Ἐλεγε γὰρ μίαν αρχὴν, καθὼς καὶ ἡμετέρος λόγος. *Ib. D.*

(*k*) Φατκεῖ γὰρ Ἀπελλῆς, καὶ οἱ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ἢκ εἰσι τρεῖς ἀρχαὶ ἢτε δύο, ὡς τοῖς περὶ Λαρκιανὸν καὶ Μαρκιωνά εἰδοξέν. ἀλλὰ φησὶν εἰς εἷν ἀγαθὸς Θεός, καὶ μία ἀρχή, καὶ μία δύναμις ἀκατονομαστος . . . ὁ αὐτὸς ἅγιος Θεὸς καὶ ἀγαθός, ὁ ἀνῶθεν Θεὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς ἐποίησεν εἷν ἄλλον Θεόν. ὁ δὲ γενομένης ἄλλος Θεός· ἐκτίσσε τὰ πάντα θράνον καὶ γῆν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ. *Hær. 44. N. 1. p. 381. A.*

(*l*) Ego enim unum principium esse prædico, quem Deum cognosco, qui Deus fecit angelos. Fecit etiam alteram virtutem, quem Deum scio esse secundum, qui et virtus Dei est, quæ fecit illum. Hic autem Deus, qui fecit mundum, non est, inquit, bonus, ut ille qui fecit illum. Subjectus autem est Deo illi, a quo et factus est iste, qui et nutui et jussioni et præceptis paret illius in omnibus. Cujus Ariani nunc confortes sunt atque fautores, sic prædicantes atque sentientes. *Pb. H. 47. p. 48.*

only (*m*) a glorious Angel, and the God of the Jewish people. SECT. 7.
Nor is that particular omitted by the author (*n*) of the Additions to Tertullian's Book of Prescriptions.

That inferior Deity, or Angel, is spoken of by Tertullian, (*o*) in a passage already transcribed, and by (*p*) Theodoret, as a fiery being.

SECT. VIII. *Believed that the Difference of Sex depended on the Soul.*

OF that (*q*) fiery Angel bringing souls into bodies, Tertullian speaks in a passage, which I place below. He likewise affirms, that (*r*) Apelles believed souls to have sexes, or at least, that bodies derived their sexes from the souls, that animated them. SECT. 8.

(*m*) Apelles creatorem, angelum nescio quem gloriosum superioris Dei faceret Deum Legis et Israelis, illum igneum affirmans. *De Pr. c. 34. p. 244. B. 211. 7.*

Sed quoniam et isti Apelleiani carnis ignominiam prætendunt maxime, quam volunt ab igneo illo præside mali . . . adstruam. . . Angelum quendam inclytum nominant, qui mundum hunc instituerit, et instituto eo poenitentiam admiserit. *De Carne. Chr. c. 8. p. 365. D. 303. 15.*

Futile et frivolum illud corpusculum, quod malum denique appellare non horrent, etsi angelorum fuisset operatio, ut Menandro et Marco placet: etsi ignei alicujus exstructio, æque angeli, ut Apelles docet. *Tertul. de resur. Carn. c. 5. p. 382. B. 316. 11.*

(*n*) Hic introducit unum Deum. . . hunc potestates multas, angelosque fecisse, præterea et aliam virtutem, quam dominum dicit, et angelum ponit. Hoc vult videri

mundum institutum ad imitationem mundi superioris; cui mundo permiscuisse poenitentiam, quia non illum tam perfecte fecisset, quam ille superior mundus institutus fuisset. *De Pr. c. 51. p. 254. A. 217. 25.*

(*o*) See before note (*m*) of this page.

(*p*) Τοῖς τε μαρκιωνος ἀγγελίοις καὶ ἑτέροις προσεβίβηκε πνεύμων. *Theod. H. F. l. 1. c. 25. p. 211. D.*

(*q*) Apelles sollicitas refert animas terrenis escis de supercœlestibus sedibus ab igneo angelo, Deo scilicet Israelis et nostro, qui exinde illis peccatricem circumfinxit carnem. *De Anima. c. 23. p. 325. B. 275. 8.* See also this page, note (*m*) second passage.

(*r*) Quoniam et Apelles, non pictor, sed hæreticus, ante corpora constituens animas viriles ac muliebres, sicut ab Philumena didicit. Utique carnem, ut posteriorem, ab anima facit accipere sexum. *Ibid. c. 36. p. 339. D. 284. 39.*

SECT. IX. *Was not a Docete in Opinion concerning the Body of Christ.*

SECT. 9. **O**F his opinion concerning Christ, Epiphanius writes after this manner. He (*f*) also says, that in the last times Christ was manifested, being the son of the good God, and his Holy Spirit. He came for the salvation of those, who should believe in him. Nor was he in appearance only, but had flesh really, though not from the Virgin Mary. For as he descended from the supercelestial places to this earth, he collected to himself a body out of the four elements. Having thus formed to himself a body, he really appeared in this world, and taught men the knowledge of heavenly things. And he says, that Jesus was really crucified, and afterwards showed that very flesh to his disciples. As he ascended, he returned his body to the elements, from which he took it, and returned to heaven.

That account is very agreeable to Tertullian, who says, that (*t*) Apelles, and divers of Marcion's disciples left him
so

(*f*) υιον οντα τε ανω αγαθη θεω, και το αγιον αυτη πνευμα . . . Και ελθοντα ε δοκησει πιφηναι, αλλα εν αληθεια σαρκα ειληφεναι . . . εδωκεν ο χριστος εαυτον παθειν εν αυτω τω σωματι, και εσταυρωθη εν αληθεια, και εδειξεν αυτην την σαρκα τοις εαυτη μαθηταις. *H. 44. cap. 2. p. 381. 382.*

(*t*) Sed quidam discentes Pontici illius supra magistrum sapere compulsi, concedunt Christo carnis veritatem, sine præjudicio tamen renuendæ nativitatis. Habuerit, inquit carnem, modo non natam. Pervenimus igitur. . . a Marcione ad Apellem,

quî posteaquam a disciplina Marcionis in muliere carne lapsus, dehinc in virginem Philumenem, spiritu everfus est, solidum Christi corpus, sed sine nativitate, suscepit ab ea prædicare. . . Confidentur vere corpus habuisse Christum. Unde materia? Unde caro, si non nata? De sideribus, inquit, et de substantiis superioris mundi mutuatus est carnem. Et utique proponunt, non esse mirandum corpus sine nativitate, cum et apud nos angelis licuerit, nulla uteri opera, in carnem processisse. *De Carne Christi. c. 6. p. 362. C. D 301. 10.*

so far. They allowed, that Jesus Christ had flesh truly, though he was not born of a woman. That opinion, as well as most other peculiarities of Apelles, is ascribed (*u*) to the teachings of Philumene.

He believed, then, that Christ was not a mere phantom, but had really a body: not born however, but composed and formed to himself, out of aerial matter, as he descended from heaven. So Tertullian in the places already cited. As in like manner the (*x*) author of the Additions to his book of Prescriptions. And as Philaster says, (*y*) according to him Christ had flesh, and that not brought from heaven, as Valentine, but formed out of the four elements.

In support of that opinion, that Jesus was not born, Apelles, as well as others, laid hold of those words of our Lord: Who is my mother? And who are my brethren? As Tertullian (*z*) informs us, and at the same time confutes their reasonings.

In

(*u*) Nam et Philumene illa magis persuasit Apelli, ceterisque desertoribus Marcionis, ex fide quidem Christum circumtulisse carnem, nullius tamen nativitat, utpote de elementis mutuata. *Adv. Mar. L. 3. c. 11. p. 486. A. 391. 13.*

(*x*) Christum neque in phantasmate dicit fuisse, sicut Marcion, neque in substantia veri corporis, ut Evangelium docet. Sed eo quod a superioribus partibus descenderit, ipso descensu fideream sibi carnem et aeream contexuisse: hunc in resurrectione singulis quibusque elementis, quæ in descensu suo mutuata fuissent in ascensu reddidisse, et sic dispersis quibusque corporis sui partibus in cælo spiritum tantum rediisse. *Cap. 51. p. 254. A. 217. 29.*

(*y*) Dicit autem Christum in carne apparuisse, non tamen sicut Valentinus de cælo carnem desumisse. . . Sed de quatuor elementis. *Cap. 47. p. 99.*

(*z*) Sed quoties de nativitate contenditur, omnes qui respuunt eam, ut præjudicantem de carnis in Christo veritate, ipsum Deum volunt negare esse natum, quod dixerit: Quæ mihi mater, et qui mihi fratres? Audiat igitur Apelles, quid jam responsum sit a nobis Marcioni, eo libello quo ad Evangelium provocavimus. . . Primo quidem nunquam quisquam adnuntiasset illi matrem et fratres ejus foris stare, qui non certus esset, et habere illum matrem et fratres, et ipsos esse quos tunc nuntiabat. *De Carne Christi. c. 7. p. 364. A. B. 302. 11.*

SECT. 9.

In his ascension to heaven Christ restored his body to the stars, or the elements, from whence he had taken it. So Epiphanius, as before quoted, and other authors. Thus we have seen the opinion of Apelles concerning Christ. Origen (*a*) takes notice of a particular, which must have been a consequence of rejecting Moses, and the antient Prophets, that Apelles said, Jesus was the only person, who ever came from God.

SECT. X. *He denied the Resurrection of the Body.*

SECT. 10.

EPIPHANIUS adds: (*b*) he denies also the resurrection of the dead. And in other things he agrees with his master Marcion. That Apelles denied the resurrection of the body, or the flesh, is very probable. And Tertullian (*c*) and others (*d*) confirm the account.

However, Apelles, as we have seen, (*e*) allowed that Christ rose again from the dead. And he says, (*f*) he shewed that very flesh in which he had been crucified to his disciples. Nevertheless,

(*a*) Οτι Απελλης . . . μινον ηγουμενος ειναι τα ιουδαιων γραμματα, φησιν, οτι μοτος ουτος επι δεδημηκε τω γενει ανθρωπων. . . Λεγοντα μονον επιδεδημηκεναι τον ιησυν απο τη θει τοις ανθρωποις. *Cont. Cels. L. 5. 54. p. 619, 4. p. 267. Cantab.*

(*b*) Φασκων μη ειναι αναστησιν νεκρων. *Ibid. n. 4. p. 383. B.*

(*c*) Partem ejus usurpat Marcion, et Apelles, et Valentinus, et ii qui ab eis resurrectionem carnis infringunt. *De Pr. H. cap. 33. p. 243. D. p. 210. 37. Vide et de Carn. Chr. cap. 1. p. 358. 298.*

(*d*) Hic carnis resurrectionem negat . . . Animarum solarum dicit salutem. *De Pr. cap. 51. p. 254. B. p. 217. 33.*

Quæ caro mundo reddidit cum sine carne resurgens. *August. Hær. 23.*

Ait etiam post passionem non carnem surrexisse sed de quatuor elementis quæ de mundo acceperat eaque in terram dimisisse ipsum in cœlum sine carne ascendisse asserit. *Philas. Hær. 41.*

(*e*) See the last quotations from Austin and Philaster.

(*f*) See quotations from Epiphanius, p. 324. note (*f*).

Nevertheless, that is no proof of the resurrection of the flesh, or of the bodies of others, or that any thing beside the human soul should be saved. For, according to him, (g) Christ was not born, nor was his body like ours, though real, and solid or substantial. His body consisted of aerial, etherial particles, not such gross matter as that of our bodies, of which Apelles had (h) a very low opinion.

I think it worth while to transcribe, and place at the bottom of the page a long passage of Jerom (i) relating to this point, which some of my readers will see with pleasure.

(g) Satis esse debuerat ad probationem carnis humanæ in Christo, per defensionem nativitatis. Sed quoniam et isti Apelleiaci, carnis ignominiam prætendunt maxime, quam volunt ab igneo illo præfide mali sollicitatis animabus adstructam, et idcirco indignam Christo, et idcirco de fideribus illi substantiam competisse, debeo illos de sua paratura repercutere. *De Carne Christi. c. 8. p. 365. D. p. 303. 14.*

(h) Futile et frivolum illud corpusculum, quod malum denique appellare non horrent, . . . etsi ignei alicujus exstructio, æque angeli, ut Apelles docet. *De Res. Carn. cap. 5. p. 382. B. p. 316. 11.*

(i) Dicit Origenes in pluribus locis, et maxime in libro de resurrectione quarto, et

in expositione primi Psalmi, et in Stromatibus, duplicem errorem versari in Ecclesia; nostrorum, et hæreticorum. . . Hæc nos innocentes et rusticos dicere: hæreticos vero, in quorum parte sunt Marcion, Apelles, Valentinus . . . penitus carnis et corporis resurrectionem negare, et salutem tantum tribuere animæ, frustra nos dicere, ad exemplum domini resurrecturos, quum ipse quoque dominus in phantasmate resurrexerit: et non solum resurrectio ejus, sed et ipsa nativitas τῷ δοκεῖν, id est, putative visa magis ait quam fuerit. Sibi autem utramque displicere sententiam: fugere se et nostrorum carnes, et hæreticorum phantasmata. *Ad Pamm. Ep. 38. al. 61. T. 4. p. 320. et ap. Orig. T. 1. p. 36. ed. Bened.*

PART III. *What Scriptures he received.*SECT. XI. *In other Matters he generally agreed with Marcion.*

SECT. II. **E**PIPHANIUS says, that in other things Apelles agreed with Marcion. It is therefore somewhat probable, that he continued to condemn marriage, as before argued from Tertullian. Nor do I remember, that any ancient writers have observed Apelles to have made any alteration in Marcion's scheme upon this head.

We now at length come to his sentiments about the scriptures.

SECT. XII. *Did not pay any great Regard to the Old Testament.*

HOW far Apelles rejected the Old Testament may be disputed. Rhodon in Eusebius says, that (*k*) Philumene by her visions persuaded Apelles to reject the Old Testament. He likewise tells us (*l*) that Apelles said, that the Prophets were full of contrarieties and contradictions, and therefore confuted themselves. Origen in his books against Celsus,

(*k*) Τας δι προφητείας ἐξ ἀντικειμένα λέγει πνευματος πειθομενος αποφθειμασι παρθεν δαιμονωσης, ονομα φιλαμενης. *Ap. Euf. p. 177. B.*

(*l*) Εφη, τας μεν προφητείας εαυτας ελεγχειν, δια το μηδεν ολως αληθες ειρηκειναι. ασυμφωναι γαρ υπαρχουσι και ψευδεις, και εαυταις αντικειμεναι. *P. 178. A.*

Celsus says (*m*) much the same. But in his comments upon the epistle to Titus, as cited by (*n*) Pamphilus, he expresseth himself more favourably: and supposeth, that there was a good harmony between the supreme God, and him who made the world, and was the God of Israel, and of the Law and the Prophets. Nor is Philaster (*o*) very different upon that head. The author of the Appendix to Tertullian's Prescriptions says (*p*) he rejected the Law and the Prophets. Moreover it appears from what was before said of the writings of Apelles, that they were designed to shew the difficulties of the Old Testament, if not totally to overthrow its authority. SECT. 12.

SECT. XIII. *His Sentiments about the New Testament probably not very different from Marcion's.*

WITH regard to the New Testament: as Apelles was a disciple of Marcion, and antient writers do not take any particular notice of his dissenting from his master about the Canon of the New Testament; it may be argued, that upon this head the sentiments of both were much alike. Let us however observe a few particulars. SECT. 13.

U u

The

(*m*) Οτι ο Μαρκιωνος γνωριμος Απελλης, αιρεσιως τινος γενομενος πατηρ, και μυθον ηγαμενος ειναι τα ιουδαιων γραμματα . . κ. λ. *Contr. Cels. L. 4. c. 54. p. 619. A. Tom. 1. Bened. p. 267. Can.*

(*n*) Sed et Apelles, licet non omnibus modis Dei esse legem deneget et Prophetas, tamen et ipse hæreticus designatur, quoniam Deum, qui hunc mundum condidit, ad gloriam alterius ingeni et boni Dei eum con-

struxisse pronuntiavit: illum autem ingentum Deum in consummatione seculi misisse Jesum Christum ad emendationem mundi, rogatum ab eo Deo qui eum fecerat, ut mitteret filium suum ad mundi sui correctionem. *Pamph. pro. Origin. Ap. ap. Hieron. T. 5. 226. B.*

(*o*) See above, p. 322. note (*l*)

(*p*) Legem et Prophetas repudiat. *Cap. 51. p. 254. A. p. 217. 29.*

SECT. 13.

The author of the Additions to Tertullian's book of Prescriptions says, that Apelles (*q*) received the apostle Paul only, and him not entire. But that must be a mistake, or misrepresentation, and deserves little or no regard. Apelles certainly received some gospel, if not all the gospels, as well as Paul's epistles: though perhaps all of them curtailed and altered after the manner of Marcion.

SECT. XIV. *It is likely that he rejected the beginning of St. Matthew's Gospel, as well as that of St. Luke.*

SECT. 14.

AS Apelles denied the Nativity of Jesus, it is likely that he rejected the beginning of St. Matthew's gospel if he received the other part of it, and also those chapters from the beginning of St. Luke's gospels, that Marcion did.

Origen (*r*) in a letter to his friends at Alexandria joins Marcion and Apelles together, in a censure for altering the gospels and the apostle, or both parts of the New Testament: though perhaps his words do not necessarily imply, that Apelles followed Marcion in every alteration of scripture. However, as we have only a Latin version of that epistle, we must not be too nice in our remarks.

Tertullian in a passage, where he censures Marcion, Valentin, and Apelles, for a wrong usage of scriptures, speaks of

(*q*) Solo utitur et Apostolo, sed Marcionis, id est, non toto. *Cap. 51. p. 254. B. p. 217. 34.*

(*r*) Videte, quali purgatione disputationem nostram purgavit: tali nempe,

quali purgatione Marcion Evangelia purgavit vel Apostolum, vel quali successor ejus post ipsum Apelles. *Orig. Ep. T. 1. p. 6. B.*

of Apelles, as (f) removing the antient bounds: though the meaning of that expression is not easily determined with exactness. SECT. 14.

In their argument against our Lord's Nativity, from his saying, Who are my mother, and who are my brethren: and in Tertullian's answer, it is supposed, that they did receive a gospel, or gospels, where that account is recorded. Of this I took notice formerly. (t)

SECT. XV. *He treated the Scriptures just as Marcion did, by receiding Part, and rejecting what did not suit his Purpose.*

I ADD here another passage of Tertullian (u) in the margin, relating to the same matter, and supposing, I think, that Apelles treated the scriptures of the New Testament much after the same manner that Marcion did. SECT. 15.

Tertullian too mentions an (x) interpretation, which the followers of Apelles gave of the lost sheep in the parable. In other places he supposes their respect (y) for some of St. Paul's epistles.

U u 2

Epiphanius

(f) Ad quos merito dicendum est: qui estis? quando, et unde venistis. . . . Quo denique, Marcion, jure filiam meam cædis? Qua licentia, Valentine, fontes meos transvertis. Qua potestate, Apelles, limites meos commoves. *De Pr. cap. 37. p. 245. D. p. 212. 3.*

(t) See before in the account of Marcion, sec. 37.

(u) Eodem sensu denique et illi exclamationi respondit: non matris uterum et ubera negans, sed feliciores designans, qui verbum Dei audiunt. Solis istis capitulis,

quibus maxime instructi sibi videntur Marcion et Apelles, secundum veritatem integri et incorrupti Evangelii interpretatis, satis esse debuerat, ad probationem carnis humanæ in Christo, per defensionem nativitatis. *De Car. Chr. cap. 7. 8. p. 365. D. p. 303. 11.*

(x) Cum angelum etiam de figura erraticæ ovis interpretentur. *De Carn. Chr. cap. 8. p. 366. A. 303. 21.*

(y) Vide *De Carn. Christ. cap. 6. p. 362 D. p. 301. 13. De Pr. H. c. 33. p. 243. D. p. 210. 33. et passim.*

Epiphanius in his history of Apelles, and in his confutation of him, quotes freely (x) St. John's gospel, the Acts of the apostles, (a) and several of St. Paul's epistles. He also refers to St. Mark, (b) and the other gospels. At the same time he (c) chargeth him with taking or leaving what he liked: which, he says, is acting like a judge, not like an interpreter of scripture.

(x) H. 44. n. 5. 384.

(a) Ibid. notes 5. 6. p. 386.

(b) Ως εχει και το τε μαρκου ευαγγελιον, και των αλλων ευαγγελισμων. Ib. n. 6. p. 386. C.

(c) Ει δε και α θελει λαμβανεισ απο της θειας

γραφης, και α θελει καταλιμπανεισ, αρα γυν κρι

της προκαθισας, ηχ ερμηνευτης των νομων, κ. λ.

n. 5. p. 384. D. 385. A.



C H A P. XIII.

*Of the SETHIANS.*S E C T. I. *Some general Observations concerning these Heretics, and the Ophites and Cainites.*

TILLEMONT speaks of the Cainites (*a*) under the article of the Nicolaitans. He joins together (*b*) the Ophites and Sethians. He says, the Heretics called Ophites, descend as to their doctrine from the Nicolaitans and Gnostics. They are reckoned not to have appeared till after the Heraclionites, and some other branches of the Valentinians. Therefore we cannot place their rise before the year 150, nor much later, since they were known to Irenæus. So he. SECT. I.

Irenæus at the conclusion of his first book has two chapters, the first of Ophites and Sethians, whom he joins together: the other of the Cainites. The former is long. And he there seems to design, we (*c*) should think them all sprung from the Valentinians. And yet in the following chapter, of the Cajans, he speaks as if the Valentinians had sprung from them. (*d*) A large part of his long chapter of the Ophites and Sethians is very obscure. For which reason
I shall

(*a*) *Mem. Ec. T. 2. p. 47. Paris.*

(*b*) *Ib. p. 288.*

(*c*) Tales quidem secundum eos sententiæ sunt: a quibus multiplex capitibus fere de Valentini schola generata est. *Lib. 1.*

c. 30. [al. 34.] n. 15. p. 112. Vide et c. 31.

[al. 35.] n. 3. p. 113.

(*d*) A talibus matribus, et patribus, et proavis, eos, quia Valentino sint, sicut ipsæ sententiæ et regulæ ostendunt eos. *Cap. 31. n. 3. p. 113.*

SECT. I. I shall not attempt to translate or transcribe it. But by and by I shall take out of it several particulars.

The (*e*) Cainites, or Cainists and Ophians are mentioned by Clement of Alexandria. He gives no distinct account of them. But says, that some heretics are denominated from their opinions, or the objects of their veneration, as the Cainists and Ophians.

Philaster has three chapters of Ophites, Cainites and Sethians. They are placed by him among the heresies before Christ, and are the very first in his catalogue. Nor has he any thing, that might lead us to think them Christians: except that in the article of the Sethians he says, they (*f*) not only said, that the Christ descended from Seth, but also that he was Seth himself.

In Epiphanius, and in Augustin, who follows him, the order is Ophites, Cainites and Sethians. The author of the Additions to Tertullian observes the same order, and has a long article of each. Theodoret joins the Sethians and Ophites, and then has a distinct article for Cainites.

(*e*) Αἱ δὲ ἀπὸ ὑποθέσεων, καὶ ὡς τετιμηκασιν,
ὡς καὶ αὐτοὶ τε καὶ οἱ οφίαντες προσαγορευόμενοι.
Str. L. 7. p. 765. C.

(*f*) De Seth autem ipso Christum Do-

minum genus deducere aiunt. Quidam
autem ex iis non solum genus de eo dedu-
cere, sed etiam ipsum Christum esse asserunt
atque opinantur. P. 11. 12.

SECT. II. *Epiphanius's Account of the Sethians.*

HAVING given this general view of the most antient SECT. 2.
catalogues of heresies, where these people are mentioned, I choose to begin with the Sethians. And Epiphanius's account shall be our text.

He says: neither the Sethians, nor the former heresy of the Cainites, are to be met with every where. He (*g*) thinks however, that he had seen some of them in Egypt: but he could not recollect, in what part of it.

The (*h*) Sethians, he says, boast, that they are descendants of Seth, the son of Adam, whom they mightily extol, saying, that he was an example of righteousness, and every virtue. They also call him Christ. And say, he is the same as Jesus. They say, that the world was made by angels, and not by the supreme power. Let us go over these things.

(*g*) Ταχα δε ομαι εν τη των αιγυπτιων χω-
ρα συντετυχηκεναι και ταυτη τη αιρεσει· ο γαρ
ακριβως την χωραν μεμνημαι, εν η αυτοις συνετυ-
χον. *H. 39. n. 1. p. 284.*

(*h*) Ουτοι . . απο Seth . . . σημνυονται
το γενος καταγειν· αυτον δε δοξαζουσι, και εις
αυτον παντα οσαπερ αρετης αναφερουσι. κ. λ.
Ibid. p. 284. B.

S E C T.

S E C T. III. *They called themselves the Descendants of Seth.*

S E C T. 3. **T**HEY said, they were descendants of Seth the son of Adam. In which there is nothing wonderful. For so are all men living since the flood. But they boasted, that they were the children of Seth: meaning thereby, probably, that they were the children, or people of God, not the children of Cain, who was of the evil one, (*i*) nor the seed of the evil one, or men of the world. In this referring, it is likely to divers texts in the books of (*k*) Genesis and Numbers. For the Sethians (*l*) being as seems probable, Hebrews by descent, and Christians by profession, and well acquainted with the Jewish scriptures, were oftentimes led to speak of themselves in this manner. So Rhenford understood this, whose reasonings appear to have a great deal of probability. (*m*)

(*i*) 1 John, iii. 12.

(*k*) See Gen. iii. 15. iv. 25. and 26. Numb. xxiv. 17.

(*l*) Nempe illud *filii Sethi*, in vaticinio Bileami Num. xxiv. 17. *Ecclesiam vel fideles* notat, quos Messias suo beneficio sit servaturus. Et *veluti gallina glocitando sub alas suas convocabit*, fovebitque ac defendet Messias *omnes filios Sethi*. Ita enim hæc verba reddenda et explicanda esse, ex nexu et scopo totius orationis et significato vocis קר-פ ceterarumque versionum incommodis, Altingius solide atque præclare evicit in *Locis Parallelis*. p. 8. 9. *Rhenfordi Diff. de*

Sethianis. n. 6. p. 166. *Opp. Philolog. Trajet. ad Rhen.* 1722.

(*m*) Id ergo cum non ignorarent hi homines, natione Hebræi, professione Nazareni vel Christiani, linguæ Hebræe Syrachæque callentissimi, Catecheseos veterum patrum, mysteriorum Caballisticorum minime ignari, *filios Sethi* se professi sunt, id est illius fidei et pietatis, quæ quondam in Setho fuerat, studiosos atque æmulos, id est vere fideles, vere Christianos, illorumque beneficiorum, quæ quondam, cum alibi, tum Num. xxiv. 17. *filii Sethi* per Messiam promissa erant, participes. *Ib.* n. 9. p. 167.

S E C T. IV. *They spoke of Seth in a very honourable Manner.*

THEY ascribed all virtues to Seth. Nor can any say, SECT. 4.
that they did so without reason.

They likewise called him Christ, and said, he was the same as Jesus. In what they said of Seth, it is likely they had a reference to Gen. iii. 15. and iv. 25. But here is, probably, some mistake, or misrepresentation: for, as we shall see presently, they say Christ was descended from Seth.

S E C T. V. *They ascribed the Creation of the World to Angels.*

THEY said, that the world was made by angels, and SECT. 5.
not by the supreme power. Rhenford is clear, that (n) the Sethians, and all Ebionite or Jewish Christians, meant no more by this, than what Christ and his Apostles do, when they speak of the prince of this world, the powers of this world, and the God of this world, and the like.

(n) Unum illud hæreticum ac plane impium videtur, quod *ab angelis, non a superiori vi, producta esse dicunt omnia.* . . . Cum Sethiani, ceterique ejusdem commatis Ebionitæ, per τον δημιουργον η δημιουργος τε κοσμος, conditorem conditoresve mundi, . . . nihil aliud intellexerint, quam quos Christus et Apostoli αρχοντα τε κοσμος τετε, et αρχας και εξουσιας και κοσμοκρατορας τε κοσμος τετε appellant. *Ib. n. 31. p. 176. Vide et n. 37. p. 179.*

SECT. VI. *They believed that Jesus Christ descended from Seth in an extraordinary Way.*

SECT. 6.

AFTERWARDS Epiphanius informs us, they said, that (o) from Seth in a continued succession descended Jesus Christ, not in the ordinary way of generation, but after a wonderful manner. Which shews, they thought Jesus to be the Christ, and that he was born of a virgin.

This will be confirmed by Irenæus. His words are obscure. But I shall put them at the bottom of the page, and translate them, as well as I can, somewhat loosely.

They (p) believe, says Irenæus, that Sophia, or Wisdom, spake by the prophets: and that their predictions were partly fulfilled in two men with divine commissions, one born of barren

(o) Απο δε τῆ σῆθ κατα σπέρμα, και κατα διαδοχην γενεας ο χριστος ηλθεν αυτος ιησους, αρχι κατα γενη, αλλα θαυμασως εν τω κοσμῳ πεφηνως. *Ibid. n. 3. p. 286. A.*

(p) Horum (prophetarum) igitur unusquisque glorificans suum patrem et Deum. Sophiam, et ipsam per eos multa loquutam esse de primo homine . . . et de illo Christo qui sit sursum quæ a prophetis annuntiabantur . . . duorum hominum factas esse emissiones: alterum quidem de sterili Elizabetha, alterum autem ex Maria virgine . . . Cognoscentem autem eam quæ de orsum est Sophiam, descendere ad fratrem ejus, et annuntiasse ejus adventum per Joannem, et præparasse baptismum poenitentiae, et ante adaptasse Jesum: uti descendens Christus inveniat vas mundum . . . Jesum autem, quippe ex virgine per operationem Dei generatum, sapientiore et mundiore et justiore hominibus omnibus fuisse:

Christum perplexum Sophiæ descendisse, et sic factum esse Jesum Christum. Multos igitur ex discipulis ejus non cognovisse Christi descensionem in eum dicunt: descendente autem Christo in Jesum tunc incepisse virtutes perficere, et curare, et annuntiare incognitum patrem, et se manifeste filium primi hominis confiteri. In quibus irascentes principes, et patrem Jesu, operatos ad occidendum eum: et in eo cum adduceretur, ipsum quidem Christum Sophia abstulisse in incorruptibilem Æonem dicunt: Jesum autem crucifixum: non autem oblitum suum (F. eum) Christum sed misisse desuper virtutem quamdam in eum, quæ excitavit eum in corpore. . . . Videntes autem discipuli resurrexisse eum, non eum cognoverunt, sed ne ipsum quidem Jesum, cujus gratia a mortuis resurrexit. . . . Confirmare autem volunt descensionem Christi et

barren Elizabeth, the other of Mary a virgin: they say that the appearing of Jesus was foretold by John, who preached the baptism of repentance, and baptised Jesus, that the Christ, when he descended, might find a pure vessel. That Jesus, being born of a virgin by the operation of God, was wiser, more holy, and more excellent than all men: that Christ, the companion of wisdom, came down upon him, and so Jesus was made the Christ. This, they said, was not rightly understood by all Christians: and that the truth is, that Christ having come down upon Jesus, he immediately thereupon began to work miracles, and heal diseases, and preach the true God, and thus manifestly to shew himself to be the son of the first man: (or the promised Messiah:) at which the rulers (or certain powers) being offended, they contrived to put him to death. And they say, that the Christ with wisdom then forsook him, but Jesus was crucified. However, the Christ did not forget Jesus, but raised him from the dead. Nevertheless, when he was risen his disciples did not (at first) know him. And they hence endeavour to support their opinion, that Christ came down upon Jesus, and then went away from him, as just mentioned: forasmuch as that the disciples do not relate him to have wrought miracles either before his baptism or after his resurrection. He staid with his disciples eighteen months. And having in that time sufficiently instructed them, especially some of them, he was received up into heaven, and Christ sat down at the right hand of God.

et ascensionem ex eo, quod neque ante baptismum, neque post resurrectionem a mortuis, aliquid magni fecisse Jesum dicunt discipuli. . . Remoratum autem eum post resurrectionem xviii. mensibus: et paucos ex

discipulis suis, quos sciebat capaces tantorum mysteriorum, docuit hæc. Et sic receptus est in cælum, Christo sedente ad dexteram patris Jaldabaoth. *Iren. L. i. c. 30.* [*al. 34.*] n. 11. 12. 13. 14. p. 111. 112.

S E C T. VII. *By Christ who descended upon Jesus, they probably meant the Holy Ghost.*

SECT. 7. IRENÆUS says, they believed, that the Christ descended upon Jesus at his baptism. It is very likely, that by Christ they meant the Holy Ghost. This may be reckoned to be confirmed by Theodoret in his article of Sethians, and Ophites, whose (*q*) words I shall place below. They also said, that upon Jesus being led away to be crucified, the Christ, or wisdom in him, went away, and that Jesus only was crucified. Their meaning probably, was, that the divine nature in Jesus did not suffer. They said, that Jesus staid with his disciples eighteen months after his resurrection. In which possibly there is some mistake, or misrepresentation. I think, that Irenæus is the only person who mentions this. It is not in Epiphanius, or Theodoret, or other antient writers of heresies. In the main, these Sethians appear to have been good Christians. They believed that Jesus was born of a virgin, and was a most excellent man: that John born of Elizabeth prepared the way for him, and baptised him: that the Holy Ghost descended upon Jesus at his baptism: after which he wrought miracles of healing, and taught true religion, and manifestly shewed himself to be the promised Messiah. They believed that Jesus was crucified, and was afterwards raised from the dead, and received up into heaven, where he sat at the right hand of God. And if these were Jewish

(*q*) Θηλυ δε το πνευμα καλεσι, και τοις σοι-
χειος επιφεισθαι· ερασθηναι δε φασι τον πρωτον
ανθρωπον, και τον δευτερον, της ωρας τε πνευμα

τος, και παιδοποιησαι φως, ο καλεσι χριστον.
H. F. L. 1. p. 204. C.

Jewish believers, as is reasonably supposed, it may be argued SECT. 7.
from their calling themselves by so Catholic a denomination
as that of Sethians, that they approved of the vocation of the
Gentiles: though possibly, for themselves, they observed cir-
cumcision, and other rites of the law, so far as they could in
the places where they lived.

Theodoret also confirms the account, that (*r*) they be-
lieved Jesus to have been born of a virgin, and that the Christ
came down upon him from heaven.

SECT. VIII. *An Account of what Books they used.*

LET us now see, what books they had, and made use of. SECT. 8.
They have, says (*s*) Epiphanius, certain books written
by themselves, with the names of great men affixed to them:
seven books of Seth, and others: another of Abraham, which
they call his Revelation, and others with the name of Moses.
Afterwards Epiphanius speaks (*t*) of other books called the
Jubilees, and another book, called the Little Genesis, in which
were the names of Cain's and Seth's wives.

But possibly, the books, called the seven books of Seth,
were not ascribed to him, as the author: but only contained
an account of his being the seed obtained after the death of
Abel,

(*r*) Τον δε ιησυν αλλον λεγουσι παρα τον
χριστον· και τον μεν ιησυν εκ της παρθενης γεννη-
θηναι, τον δε χριστον υψανοθεν εις αυτον κατελθειν.
H. F. L. i. c. 14. p. 205. C.

(*s*) Βιβλος δε τινας συγγραφοτες εξ ονοματος
μεγαλων ανδρων. Εξ ονοματος μεν σην επτα λε-
γοντες ειναι βιβλος· αλλας δε βιβλος ιτερας αλ-

λογιεις ητω καλυσιν· αλλην δε εξ ονοματος αβρα-
αμ, ην και αποκαλυψιν φασκυσιν ειναι . . . ετε-
ρας δε εξ ονοματος τη μουσεως, και αλλας αλλων.
H. 39. n. 5. p. 286. C.

(*t*) Ως δε εν τοις ιωηλαιοις ευρισκεται, τη
και λεπτογενεσει καλημενη. κ. λ. *Ibid. n. 6.
p. 287. B.*

SECT. 8. Abel, and chosen to uphold religion in the world, with reflections upon the state of things on this earth, in his time. The books were called not from the author of them, but from their subject. This (*u*) was the opinion of Mr. Rhenford.

The book called Abraham's Revelation, probably was not ascribed to him, as the author, but rather contained only an account of his faith, (*x*) or the covenant made with him, and the promises delivered to him.

The books with the names of Moses, might (*y*) be his Pentateuch, in Hebrew, which the Gentile Christians did not understand: who likewise used, and preferred the Septuagint version.

I can say nothing particularly of the book called the Jubilees, and the Little Genesis. But it may be reasonable to

(*u*) Quid vero in eo sit vitii, haberi libros Sethi de nomine inscriptos. Impudentia, inquires, et mendacium, quod libros a se conscriptos Setho attribuant. At unde constat, Setho ab illis attribui? Satis illis causa erat, cur libros illos Sethi et αλλογενων nomine vocarent, quod in illis de Setho, ejusque doctrina, vita, et rebus gestis: de femine item alio, de filiis Sethi eorumque civitate, jure, legibus et beneficiis ageretur: etsi libros ipsos ad Sethum tanquam scriptorem non referebant. Nempe facile est ad intelligendum, eundem qui in ecclesia scholave doctrinam illam de filiis Sethi tradere solebat, eandem etiam dignam judicasse, quam literis etiam consignaret, librosque illos, ita uti decebat, ab ipso argumento

inscripisse, vocasseque libros Sethi, vel filiorum Sethi, vel αλλογενων, vel si qua alia ratione ipsi lubitum fuerit. *Ibid.* n. 43. p. 184.

(*x*) Eadem itaque ratione hos Sethianos, quos et divinorum oraculorum, et veterum traditionum Judaicarum callentissimos fuisse undique elucet, &c. *Ibid.* n. 28. p. 174.

(*y*) Deinde vero et illud notandum, Sethianos, de quibus hactenus egimus, fuisse credentes ex Judæis, quibus illa exempla cum ex lectione Legis notissima erant, tum a suis maxime doctoribus, Apostolis, in quam, circumcisionis, de novo serio et solite fuerant inculcata. *Ibid.* n. 62. p. 191.

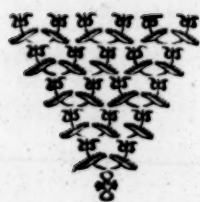
to think, that all these books, composed by the Sethians, SECT. 8. who seem to have been Hebrew believers, contained explanations of some parts of the books of Moses: and were designed to support their faith in Jesus, and justify their embracing the Christian Revelation, by the literal or mystical sense of their antient writings: though, possibly, some of the arguments made use of might be weak, and their traditions false and ill-grounded.

SECT. IX. *What Scriptures they received.*

THERE can be no question made, but the Sethians SECT. 9. respected the books of the Old Testament. Irenæus takes particular notice of (z) it. We can likewise perceive by the long passage transcribed from him above, that they received the gospels of Matthew and Luke, and particularly the first chapters of both: where there is an account of the birth of John the Baptist, and of Jesus, and John's baptism and ministry. They received probably all the gospels, and acts, and most other books of the New Testament. This may be argued from the clear knowledge they appear to have had of our Lord's miracles, death, resurrection, and ascension

(z) Sic autem Prophetas distribuunt: autem Adonei, Essaiam et Ezechiel, et hujus quidem Jaldabaoth Moysen fuisse, et Jesum Nave, et Amos, et Abacuc: illius autem Eloï, Tobiam, et Aggæum: autem Horei, Michæam, et Nahum: illius autem Astaphæi, Jonam, et Michæam: illius autem Sabaoth, Hefdram, et Sophoniam. L. 1. c. 30. Hebiam, et Joel, et Zachariam: illius n. 14. p. 3. Vide et n. 10.

SECT. 9. ascension to heaven. It is plain, it was not one gospel only that was received by them, but several. For, as Irenæus assures us, they insisted upon it, that the disciples had related none, or few miracles, done by Christ, before his baptism, or after his resurrection. Which manner of speaking shews, that they referred to more gospels than one.



CHAP. XIV.

*Of the Caians, or Cainites.*SECT. I. *Some Account of the Accusations brought against them from Epiphanius and Irenæus.*

THE Caians or Cainites, says (a) Epiphanius in his SECT. I.
summary, extol Cain, saying he was from the superior
power. They pay divine honours to Judas, Core, Dathan,
and Abiram, and the people of Sodom.

In his Panarium, the heretics (b) called Caians, from Cain,
whom they greatly respect and call their father, say, that
he was from the superior power, Abel from the weaker.
They esteem also (c) Esau, Core, and the people of Sodom,
whom they call their kindred. They (d) reckon Judas like-
wise among their kindred, and ascribe to him a wonderful
knowledge of things. And they have among them a book,
which they call the gospel of Judas. They have also some
other like books. And they (e) say, that in order to be
saved, men must run through a course of all manner of

Y y

iniquity,

(a) Τον καιν δοξαζουσι . . . Αμα δε και ιωδαν
εκθειαζουσιν, ομν τε και της περι κορε και Δαθαν
και αβειρωμ, αλλα και της σοδομιτας. *Anacarp.*

(b) *P. 229. D.*

(c) *H. 38. n. 1. p. 276. A. B. C.*

(d) Και τετον γαρ θελησιν ειναι συγγενη εαυ-

των, και εν γνωσεως υπερβολη τον αυτον καταριθ-
μουν· ωσε και συνταγματιον τι φερειν εξ ονομα-
τος αυτη, ο ευαγγελιον τε ιωδα καλεσι. *Ib. D.*

(e) Και μη δυνασθαι φασι σωθισεσθαι τινα,
εαν μη δια παντων χωρησωσιν, ως και ο καρποκρα-
της λεγει. *Ibid.*

SECT. 1. iniquity, like the Carpocratians. Epiphanius proceeds to relate more (*f*) to the same purpose. And afterwards adds: they (*g*) have also forged a book with the name of Paul the apostle, called his ascension, filled with mysteries of iniquity. Their pretence for it is taken from what he writes, 2 Cor. xii. 4. Afterwards: Judas, they said, was (*b*) induced to betray Jesus from the heavenly knowledge he had obtained. The princes were aware, that if Jesus was crucified, their power would be weakened. Judas therefore hastened to betray him for our salvation. For which reason he ought to be honoured, because he had procured for us, the salvation which is by the cross of Christ, and the heavenly knowledge obtained thereby.

Irenæus gives the like account of the wickedness of this people, and of the gospel of Judas. Epiphanius undoubtedly borrowed from him. His (*i*) words will be placed below.

(*f*) *Ibid.* n. 2. p. 277. A. B.

(*g*) *Ibid.* C.

(*b*) αγαθον αυτον οτα παρεδωκε κατα την ιπτεραν γνωσην· εγνωσαν γαρ, φησιν, οι αρχοντες, οτι εαν η χριστος παραδοθη τω αυτω, κενωται αυτων η δυναμις. Και τωτο, φησιν, γινεσθαι ο ιουδας εσπειρε, και παντα εκινησεν, ωστε παραδωθαι αυτον, αγαθον εργον ποιησας ημιν εις σωτηριαν. Και δε ημεις επαινειν . . . οτι δι αυτη κατεσκευασθη ημιν η τε σωτηρια, και η δια ταυτης υποθεσεως των αυτω αποκλυψις. *Ib.* n. 3. p. 278. B. C.

(*i*) Alii autem rursus Cain a superiore principalitate dicunt, et Esau, et Core, et Sodomitas. Et omnes tales cognatos confitentur. . . Et hæc Judam proditorem di-

ligenter cognovisse dicunt, et solum præ ceteris cognoscentem veritatem, perfecisse proditoris mysterium . . . Et confictionem afferunt hujusmodi, Judæ Evangelium illud vocantes. . . Nec enim aliter salvari eos, nisi per omnia eant, quemadmodum et Carpocrates dixit. Et in unoquoque peccatorum et turpium operationum angelum adfistere, et operantem—id quod inest ei operationi angeli nomine dicere: *O tu, angele, abutor opere tuo: O tu, illa potestas, perficio tuam operationem.* Et hoc esse scientiam perfectam, sine timore in tales abire operationes, quas ne nominare fas est. *L.* 1. c. 30. [*al.* 35.] n. 1. 2. p. 112. 113.

SECT. II. *Observations tending to show the
Incredibility of these Accounts.*

THESE are the accounts left us of these men. But SECT. 2.
can they be true? It seems not. For, first, the wicked-
ness ascribed to those men is incredible. It is not easy to
conceive, that any number of men calling themselves Chris-
tians should honour Cain and Core and Judas, and all those
who lye under just condemnation in the scriptures both of the
Old and the New Testament for the most notorious wicked-
ness. (*k*)

Secondly, the account is inconsistent, therefore overthrows
itself. It is not possible, that men should be extremely
wicked in practice, and in principle: and at the same time
be concerned about the salvation that is by the cross of
Christ, and honour Judas (*l*) for his love of truth, and so-
licitous concern for the salvation of the world, and the ge-
neral good.

Y y 2

Thirdly,

(*k*) Ejusmodi vero homines, quales Epi-
phanus nobis hic describit, unquam ali-
quo numero extitisse, et cœtum sectamque
constituisse, id adeo nullam veri speciem
habet, ut fidem omnem superare videatur.
Tametsi enim primis Christianismi tempo-
ribus sceleratissimi flagitiosissimique quidam
homines in Ecclesiam irrepserunt, Petro
Judaque testibus; tamen nobis non est ve-
rosimile, tanta illos et tam immani impu-
dentia fuisse, ut cum Christiani, si non esse,
certe videri vellent, cum historiam item
Caini reliquorumque istorum sceleratorum
noscant, . . ut inquam se illorum socios

publice profiteri, et gloriari voluerint, et
a bipedum omnium nequissimis simul atque
miserrimis, generis sui atque originis de-
ducere commendationem. *Rhenf. de Sethian.*
cap. 61. p. 191.

(*l*) Nec non etiam erupit alia quoque
hæresis, quæ dicitur Cainæorum. Et ipsi
quidem magnificant Cain, quasi ex quadam
potenti virtute conceptum, procreatum. . .
Hi qui hoc adserunt, etiam Judam prodi-
torem defendunt, admirabilem illum et
magnum esse memorantes, propter utilitates
quas humano generi contulisse jactatur.
Quidam enim ipsorum gratiarum actionem

Judæ

Thirdly, the rise of this denomination of Cainites may be accounted for another way, without making a particular sect. It might arise from the Sethians. (*m*) They who called themselves by that name, and extolled their ancestor Seth, could not well avoid declaiming against Cain. And they might sometimes say of those in a different course of life from themselves, that they acted, as if they were the children of Cain, who was of the evil one; and seemed to shew themselves kindred of Core, and Dathan, and even Judas himself.

Judæ propter hanc causam reddendam putant. Animadvertens enim, inquiunt, Judas, quod Christus vellet veritatem subvertere, tradidit illum, ne subverti veritas posset. Et alii sic contra disputant et dicunt: quia potestates hujus mundi nolebant pati Christum, ne humano generi per mortem ipsius salus pararetur, saluti consulens generis humani, tradidit Christum, ut salus, quæ impediabatur per virtutes, quæ obstitabant ne pateretur Christus, impediiri omnino non posset: et ideo per passionem Christi non posset salus humani generis retardari. *Tertul. de Pr. c. 47. p. 251. B. C.*

Simul et Judam traditorem divinum aliquid putant, et scelus ejus beneficium deputant: asserentes eum præscisse, quantum esset generi humano Christi passio profutura, et occidendum Judæis propterea tradidisse. *Aug. H. 18.*

(*m*) Cum enim Sethianorum antistites Sethum . . . auditoribus suis vitæ Christianæ, et pietatis virtutisque omnis exemplar ab oculis ponerent: vix fieri potuisse, quin

per Antithesin Caini aliorumque impietatem, et horrendas quas passi sint pœnas exposuerint. Quemadmodum vero iidem se suosque *Sethi filios* appellabant, quod vestigia fidei et pietatis Sethi premerent, . . ita quoque eos, quos Judas *viam Caini* ingressos ait, eodem jure *filios Caini* dicere potuerunt. . . . Ita et in reliquis illis exemplis fecerit, atque identidem ingeminavit: qui his illis moribus sunt, illos re ipsa declarare, et quasi publice profiteri, se non Sethi, sed Sodomæorum, Esau, Coræ, Bileami, Judæ denique proditoris, filios, fratres, affines esse. Unde quotusquisque non perspiciat atque intelligat, quam facile illorum doctrina ab imperitis quibusdam doctoribus, maxime Gentilibus, eo accipi potuerint, quo putarent esse peculiarem quandam sectam ejusmodi, . . qui professi sint, se Cainitas, Sodomitas, Esavitas esse, et si quæ alia infamia et æternis tenebris damnata nomina in sacris literis legantur. *Rhenf. de Sethian. n. 63. 64. 65. p. 192. 193. V. n. 65. p. 192. 193. Vide et n. 63. 64.*

SECT. III. *That the Denomination Cainites arose from a Way of speaking among the Sethians, rendered probable by Passages from Scripture, and other Writings.*

AFTER the same manner speak Peter and Jude in SECT. 3. their epistles, of some wicked Christians: cursed (*n*) children, which have forsaken the right way, and are gone astray, following the way of Balaam the son of Bosor, who loved the wages of unrighteousness. And woe (*o*) unto them for they have gone in the way of Cain, and ran greedily after the error of Balaam for reward, and perished in the gain-saying of Core. They are also reminded by the same sacred writers of (*p*) the judgments on the fallen angels, the old world that was drowned by a flood, and the overthrow of the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah.

This will be much confirmed from what the Sethians are represented by Epiphanius and (*q*) some others to have said of two men, or two sorts of men: which I shall now take somewhat at large.

The Sethians, says (*r*) Epiphanius, agree with the former heresy of the Caians in this respect. They say, there are two men represented by Cain and Abel. The latter was slain by Cain. Nevertheless (*s*) the higher power from above, which they

(*n*) 2 Pet. ii. 14. 15.

(*o*) Jude 11.

(*p*) Peter ii. 4. 8. and Jude v. 5. 6.

7.

(*q*) Vide Iren. L. 1. c. 30. [al. 34.] n. 8. 9. 10.

(*r*) H. 39. n. 2. 3. p. 284. 286.

(*s*) Κεκρατηκεναι δε την ανω δυναμιν ην μη-
τερα φασκεσι, και θηλειαν. p. 284. D.

SECT. 3. they call mother, prevailed. For knowing that Abel was killed, she procured the birth of Seth, and put her power in him: that is, a divine (*t*) principle, and spark from above: whereby he became the chosen seed, and was disposed to righteousness and all virtue. Hereby the seed of Seth was from the beginning separated from the other race. But in process of time, they say, the seed of Cain and Abel (or Seth) mingling together, wickedness prevailed in the earth. The mother from above looking down and seeing this, she determined to secure a holy seed. Accordingly, she brought on the flood, and destroyed all mankind in general: that for the future, there might be in the world a pure, holy, and righteous race of men only in the family of Seth. Nevertheless, Ham, a child of the evil angels, clandestinely got into the ark. For eight souls were saved therein, seven of which were of the good race. But Ham being also preserved, who was one of the other race, from thence sprang error, ignorance, inconsideration, and by degrees all manner of wickedness: till (*u*) at length, the world was become as wicked and disorderly as before the flood. But from Seth, by a continued succession, though not in the ordinary way, but in a wonderful manner, descended Jesus the Christ: who dwelled among men, sent from the mother above: that is, being born of a virgin, and anointed for his office by the Holy Spirit of God, whom the Sethians spoke of as the mother of all. So Epiphanius. And to the like

(*t*) Και τον σην θειαν τινα δυναμιν ειναι φασι. - αταξιας αυθις ανεκαμψε, και ενεπλησθη κακων, *Theod. p. 205. B.* ως εξ αρχης προ τε κατακλυσμη. Απο δε τε
(*u*) Και οτως ο κοσμος εις το αρχαιον της σην κατα σπερμα. κ. λ. *p. 286. A.*

like purpose the author of the Additions (x) to Tertullian's book of Prescriptions, whom I transcribe largely below.

SECT. IV. *There never was a Sect of Christians who called themselves Cainites, or who professed the Principles above described.*

THIS then having been a common way of speaking SECT. 4.
among men, especially among the Sethians, I think it may be questioned, whether there ever was a sect of Christians, or number of men, who called themselves Caians, and professed the principles abovementioned. But some evil men were represented as children of the evil one, and as resembling Cain, and other bad men, mentioned in the scriptures. Hence some, who were willing enough to multiply heresies, took occasion, or by mistake were led, to talk of a sect with that denomination.

(x) Sed et illo hæresis processit, quæ dicitur Sethoitarum. Hujus perversitatis doctrina hæc est: duos homines ab angelis constitutos, Cain & Abel: propter hos magnas inter angelos contentiones et discordias existisse: ob hanc causam illam virtutem quæ super omnes virtutes est, quam matrem pronuntiant, dum Abel interfectum dicerent, voluisse concipi et nasci hunc Seth, loco Abelis, ut evacuarentur angeli illi. . . Permixtiones enim dicunt angelorum et hominum iniquas fuisse: ob quam causam illam virtutem, quam (sicut diximus) pro-

nuntiant matrem, ad vindictam etiam cataclysmum inducere, ut et illud permixtionis semen tolleretur: et hoc solum semen, quod esset purum, integrum custodiretur. Sed enim illos qui feminis illos prioris instituissent, occulte et latenter, et ignorante illa matre virtute, cum illis octo animabus in arcam misisse etiam Cham, quo semen malitiæ non periret, sed cum ceteris conservatum, et post cataclysmum terris redditum, exemplo ceterorum excresceret, et effunderetur, et totum orbem et impleret et occuparet. *De Præf. c. 47. p. 251. C. D.*

C H A P. XV.

Of the Ophians, or Ophites.

S E C T. I. *The Ophians are said by Irenæus and Theodoret to be the same with the Sethians.*

SECT. 14.

WE come next to the Ophians, which are joined with the Sethians by Irenæus and Theodoret, in the same chapter, as was observed formerly. And Theodoret says at the beginning of his chapter, that (a) it was the opinion of some, that the Ophians were the same with the Sethians. If so, we have already seen the opinions of these people. They believed Jesus to have been born of a virgin, and to be the Christ, and other things before spoken of the Sethians. The opinions of each are represented together by Irenæus and Theodoret, as common to both. Consequently the Ophites, according to this view of the matter, were Hebrew believers, or Jewish Christians, as well as the Sethians, and were one and the same people, or sect, under different titles and denominations: called Sethians from their frequently speaking of themselves, as descendants of Seth, and the children of God: and Ophians from some other particular

(a) Οἱ δὲ σῆθιανοί, ὡς οφίαντες ἢ οφίτας τινὲς ὀνομαζέσθιν. H. F. L. I. c. 14. p. 204. B.

cular (*b*) tenet, or manner of understanding, and explaining some texts, and perhaps applying them to the Messiah.

SECT. II. *Very different Representations given of these People by Epiphanius and others.*

HOWEVER it must be acknowledged, that these people are represented in a very different light by some authors: let us therefore see, what other ancient writers say of them. SECT. 2.

The Ophites, says (*c*) Epiphanius in his summary, have a veneration for the serpent. They esteem him the same as Christ; and keep a real serpent in a chest.

In his Panarium itself, he says, that (*d*) the Ophites have sprung from the Nicolaitans and Gnostics, and former sects. They are called Ophites from the respect which they shew to the serpent. They said, the (*e*) serpent was the occasion of all the knowledge which men had obtained, and therefore (*f*) they shewed him great honour. He again says, they (*g*) have a real serpent in a chest. And speaks of other things, that seem not to deserve to be mentioned. He adds,

Z z that

(*b*) Id quod proxima dissertatione Ophitarum exemplo ostendemus, qui et ipsi Sethiani fuerunt, uti quidem Theodoretus narrat: vero cum non tantum vaticinia et historias Vet. T. docte atque eleganter exponerent, sed et typos, atque inter alios illum de serpente æneo, Num. xxi. ex mente Christi Joh. iii. 14. 15. et Cabbalistarum dextre interpretarentur, nomen meruerunt. *Rhenf. de Sethian. cap. ult. p. 193.*

(*c*) Οφίται εισιν, οι τον οφιν δοξαζοντες, και τωτον τον χριστον ηγεμενοι. Εχοντες δε φυσει το ερπεντον εν χειρη τινη. *p. 229. D.*

(*d*) *H. 37. n. 2. p. 268. A.*

(*e*) Λεγοντες, οτι ουτος αρχη γεγνευε γνωσεως τοις ανθρωποις. *n. 3. p. 270. B.*

(*f*) Δοξαζουσιν εν αυτον δια την τοιαυτην γνωσιν. *n. 5. p. 272. A.*

(*g*) *Ibid. A.*

SECT. 2.

that (*b*) beside other texts of scripture, they insisted upon the account of Moses erecting a brazen serpent, recorded in Numb. xxi. 8. 9. and also John iii. 14. 15.

I put in the margin Augustin's (*i*) article almost entire: and also (*k*) a large part of the article in the Additions to Tertullian's book of Prescriptions: where we are again assured, that they argued from the forementioned places of the book of Numbers, and St. John's gospel.

SECT. III. *Origen's Account of the Ophians, with some Observations thereon.*

LET us now see, what Origen says of the Ophians in his time. Of him we have hitherto made no use in our enquiries concerning this and the two foregoing heresies. But he has some things about Ophians, that may by no means be overlooked.

Upon

(*b*) Φερσσι δε και αλλας μαρτυριας λεγοντες, οτι και μωυσης εν τη ερημω τον οφιν τον χαλκον υψωσε. κ. λ. η. 8. ρ. 273. C.

(*i*) Ophitæ a colubro nominati sunt: hunc autem Christum arbitrantur. Sed habent etiam verum colubrum assuetum eorum panes lambere, atque ita eis velut eucharistiam sanctificare. Quidam dicunt istos Ophitas ex Nicolaitis sive Gnosticis exstitisse, et per eorum fabulosa figmenta ad colubrum colendum fuisse perventum. *Aug. H. 17.*

(*k*) Accesserunt his hæretici etiam illi, qui Ophitæ nuncupantur. Nam serpentem

magnificant in tantum, ut illum etiam ipsi Christo præferant. Ipse enim, inquiunt, scientiæ nobis boni et mali originem dedit. Hujus animadvertens potentiam et majestatem Moyses, inquiunt, æreum posuit serpentem. Et quicumque ipsum aspexerunt, sanitatem consecuti sunt. Ipse, aiunt præterea, Christus in Evangelio suo imitatur serpentis ipsius sacram potestatem, dicendo: et sicut Moyses exaltavit serpentem in deserto, ita exaltari oportet filium hominis. Ipsum introducunt ad benedicenda eucharistia sua, &c. &c. *De Pr. c. 47. η. 250. C. D.*

Upon occasion of some things in Celsus, Origen says, that (l) they who are called Ophians, are so far from being Christians, that they are as ready to calumniate Jesus, as Celsus himself. Nor would they admit any one into their society, without his first cursing Jesus. And presently afterwards he says, that (m) they glory in one Euphrates as their master. In another place he says, that (n) so far from owning Jesus for God, or Saviour, they do not allow him to be master, or the Son of God. Nevertheless, possibly Origen might be mistaken here. I choose not to lay much stress upon a passage of Origen's Latin Commentaries of St. Matthew: where (o) the Ophians are mentioned with divers Christian heretics. For it may have been added to the original by the translator, or by some body else since. But I shall take notice of several things concerning these persons in his books against Celsus. That heathen writer had objected to the Christians the divisions which there were among them. Origen answers, that (p) it was perhaps likely Celsus had heard of some sects, who had not the very name of Christians: as of the Ophians and Caians, or some such other people, who had entirely forsaken the Christian doctrine. But, says he, that is no disparagement to the Christian religion. Here Ophians are mentioned, with Caians, who

Z z 2

are

(l) . . . και μη προτερον προσισθαι τινα επι το συνεδριον εαυτων, εαν μη αρως θηται κατα τε ιησθ. *Contr. Celf. L. 6. p. 652. A. Bened.*

(m) *Ibid. C.*

(n) *Ibid. p. 654. D.*

(o) Et Marciones quidem, et Basilides, et Valentiniani, et Apelleiani, et Ophitæ,

multum a proposita errant via. *In. Matt. T. 3. p. 852. D. Bened.*

(p) Δοκει δε μοι ο κελσος εγινωκεναι τινας αιρεσεις μηδε τε ονοματος τε ιησθ κοινωουσας ημιν· ταχα γαρ περιηχτο περι των καλεμενων οφιανων, και των καιανων, και ει τις αλλη τοιαυτη εξ ολων αποφοιτησασα τε ιησθ ανεση γνωμη. κ. λ. *L. 3. p. 455. D.*

SECT. 3. are generally supposed to have been Christians. And it was not uncommon with Catholic writers to say of heretics, that they did not agree with them so much as in name. This passage therefore might rather incline us to think, they were Christians by profession, or a Christian sect. He speaks of them to the like purpose in another place, saying, that (*q*) they are far removed from the true Christian doctrine, held by sound Christians. Again: Celsus directs (*r*) his discourse to all Christians in general: when what he says can be applied to none but such as are altogether estranged from the doctrine of Jesus: as the Ophians, who reverence him, as we said before, and some others. Which too might be said of a Christian sect, that was supposed to be very erroneous. Moreover, he speaks of the Ophians, as ascribing to the serpent the knowledge, which men had: the same which is said of them by others, who reckoned them a Christian sect. Farther, Celsus referred to a Diagram, which Origen procured. And he says, he supposeth (*s*) it to belong to the Ophians. But in that Diagram are expressions, which, probably, belong to Christians. For they speak (*t*) of *the Father and the Son*, and the *Living Word*; and pray again and again, that the *Grace of the Father may be with them*; not to mention any other expressions. They are also afterwards represented by Origen, as invoking seven angels, or God under seven names: most of them, certainly, Hebrew, and as (*u*) Origen owns, taken out

(*q*) L. 6. p. 656. C. D.

(*r*) Εξης δὲ τοῖς ἐξετασθεῖσιν ὁ κελσὸς ὡς πρὸς πάντας χριστιανὸς ἀποτείνει λόγον, ὅτι τινὰ πρὸς τῆς παντὴ ἀλλοτρίως τῆς ἰησοῦ διδασκαλίας ὁμολογῶντας εἶναι εἰ ἀρὰ λέγειν ἠρμόζειν. Οφίανοι γὰρ (ὡς καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀνωτέρω ἐλεγόμεν) τὸν ἰησοῦν ἐξ ὅλων ἀρνημένοι. κ. λ. L. 7. p. 358. Cant. p. 722. C. D. Bened.

(*s*) L. 6. p. 648. C. D. 653. D.

(*t*) Εὐθεν εὐλικρίνως πεμπομαι, φῶτος καὶ ἡμῶν υἱὸς καὶ πατὴρ· ἡ χάρις συνῆσθαι μοι, ναι, πατέρ, συνῆσθαι. p. 654. D. . . ἐργὸν τελειὸν υἱὸς καὶ πατρί· ἡ χάρις συνῆσθαι μοι, ναι, πατέρ, συνῆσθαι . . . λόγω ζῶντι. p. 653. A. B. Bened.

(*u*) *Ibid.* p. 657. A.

out of the scriptures: several of which also are to be found SECT. 3. in Irenæus's chapter of the Sethians and Ophites: as Jaldabaoth, Jao, Sabaoth, Æloæus, Adonæus, Aftaphæus, Horæus; which makes me think, they were Christians, but still very much attached to Judaism. And when Origen says, that they would not admit any into their society, without cursing Jesus, it seems to me, that he then took them for unbelieving Jews: whereas they were indeed Jews by birth, or Hebrews, but Christians by religion and profession. And in divers of his passages before quoted, he seems to me to speak of them as a Christian sect, but very erroneous, and so absurd in their opinions, as not to deserve the name of Christians. However, I apprehend, that Origen had a very imperfect knowledge of the sentiments of these men.

As for what is said of them by some, that they thought the serpent to be Christ: it must be a mistake. The truth is, they thought, the brazen serpent in the wilderness to be a type or figure of Christ. As for worshipping the serpent, and keeping a living serpent in a chest, and bringing him out to partake of, or consecrate the Eucharist, they are mere calumnies. And their having a living or real serpent in a chest, is mentioned by none but Epiphanius, and Augustin, and Damascen, his followers. That story is not in Irenæus, nor Philaster, nor Theodoret, nor the Additions to Tertullian's book of Prescriptions.

NOTE BY THE EDITOR.

THESE Ophians can scarce be considered as Christian heretics. This appeared to me to be the case, when I was completing the history of the Basilidians. I had accordingly mentioned it as my opinion, at the end of Book II. chap. 2. sect. 27. p. 117. But by the advice of a learned friend I omitted it there, lest it should be deemed premature: because it represented them in a different manner from that, in which Dr. Lardner himself afterwards considered them.

If they were a Christian sect, of which I am still doubtful, they were certainly very erroneous in their opinions. The Simonians who are by many regarded as christian heretics, appear to me in the same point of view, with the Ophians.

The following quotations from Origen, are the grounds of my opinion with respect to both these sects. Dr. Lardner, however, did not consider them in the same light in which they strike me. Perhaps he may be right. With the utmost deference therefore to his superior judgment, I will just give the substance of what I had inserted in the place before referred to, and leave it to the reader to follow which of the two opinions appears to be best founded.

The Simonians, Origen (*a*) tells us, would never confess Jesus to be the son of God. Simon was probably an impostor, who wanted to overturn the whole Christian doctrine.

So

(*a*) Οὐδαμῶς τὸν Ἰησοῦν ὁμολογεῖν υἱὸν Θεοῦ Σιμωνιανῶν. *Spencer. Opp. T. 1. p. 625. Benedict.*
Contra Celsum. Lib. 5. p. 272.

So also according to him was Euphrates, the father (*b*) of the Ophites or Ophians: they were so far from being Christians, that they spoke against Jesus, as much as Celsus himself; and would not admit any one into their society, till he had pronounced curses against him.

(*b*) Και Οφίαντοι καλούμενοι, τούτων αποδείχται
 τὴ εἶναι Χριστιανοί, ὡς ἐκ ἐλάττων Κέλσου κατη-
 γορεῖν αὐτὸς τὴ ἰσχυ. Καὶ μὴ προτέρων προσεισ-
 θαι τινὰ ἐπὶ τὸ συνέδριον αὐτοῦ, εἰ μὴ ἀρᾷς θη-
 ται κατὰ τὴ ἰσχυ. *Con. Cels. L. 6. p. 294.*
Spen. Opp. T. 1. p. 652. A. Bened.
See also note (p) p. 355. of this chapter.
 Δοκεῖ δὲ κ. τ. λ.



C H A P. XVI.

*Of A R T E M O N.*S E C T. I. *Of his Opinions.*

SECT. I. **A**RTEMON, (*a*) called also Artemas, says Theodoret, agrees with us in acknowledging the supreme Deity, and owning him to be the Creator of the universe. But he said, that our Lord Jesus Christ was a mere man, born of a virgin, and superior in virtue to the Prophets. He said, that this was the doctrine of the Apostles, perverting the sense of the sacred scriptures, and affirming that since the time of the Apostles, some had taught the divinity of Christ without reason.

(*a*) Και αρτεμων δε τις, ον τινες αρτεμαν προφητων αρετη κριτονα. ταυτα δε και της ονομαζουσιν, τα μιν κατα τον των ολων θεον παρ- αποστολης ελεγε κεκηρυχεναι, παρερμηνευων τω ραπλησιως ημιν εδοξασεν, αυτον ειρηκως ειναι τε θειων γραφων την διανοιαν, της δε μετ εκεινης παντος ποιητην· τον δε κυριον ιησυν χριστον ανθρω- θεολογησαι τον χριστον εκ οντα θεον. *H. F. L. 2.* πον ειπε ψιλον, εκ παρθενου γεγεννημενον, των δε *c. 4. p. 220. B. C.*

S E C T.

S E C T. II. *He founded them on Scripture, and paid a Regard to its Authority.*

HERE we see at once, what was Artemon's doctrine, SECT. 2.
that he founded it upon the scriptures, and owned the authority of the Apostles.

I formerly (b) gave a particular account of the work of an anonymous author against the followers of Artemon, supposed to have been wrote about the year 212. Theodoret agrees mightily with him. The design (c) of the first passage transcribed from that work, and found in Eusebius, was to shew the novelty of that (d) opinion, that our Saviour was a mere man: whereas they said, that all the antients, and even the Apostles themselves, received and taught the same things which they now held: and that the truth of the gospel had been preserved till the time of Victor, the thirteenth Bishop of Rome: but by his successor, Zephyrine, the truth had been corrupted.

(b) Vol. 3. chap. 32. p. 36 . . . 50.

(c) Ibid, p. 40.

(d) Την γαρ τοι δεδηλωμενην αιρεσιν, ψιλον

ανθρωπον γενεσθαι τον σωτηρα φασκεσαν, & προ

πολλη ο νεωτερισθεισαν διευθυνων. κ. λ. Euseb.

L. 5. c. 28. p. 195. C.

S E C T. III. *Several others held the same
Opinions.*

SECT. 3. **T**HAT author speaks of several, who seem to have been much of the same opinion with Artemas. Their names are (*e*) Theodotus the Tanner, Asclepiades, or Asclepiodotus, and Theodotus the Banker; also Hermophilus, and Apollonius, or Apollonides, not to say any thing of Natalis. That author brings some charges against these men, as corrupting the scriptures, which were considered formerly. There is no occasion to repeat what was then said. But I beg leave to refer my readers to it. (*f*)

Eusebius himself says, that (*g*) it was Artemon's opinion, which Paul of Samosata had endeavoured to revive. The Bishops of the council of Antioch speak (*h*) to the like purpose, as does (*i*) Epiphanius: all which seems to shew, that Artemon was then an Unitarian of no small note: though Epiphanius has no particular article for him, and he be quite omitted by Philaster and Augustin. Artemas is mentioned by (*k*) Alexander Bishop of Alexandria. He would have it, that Arius followed him.

(*e*) Vol. 3. c. 32. p. 42. 45.

(*f*) Vol. 3. c. 32. p. 47. 50.

(*g*) Τῶν εν τινος σπυδασματος κατα της Αρτεμωνος αιρεσεως πεποιημενω, ην αυθις ο εκ Σαμοσατων Παυλος καθ ημας ανανεωσασθαι πεπειραται. *Hif. Ecc. Lib. 5. c. 28. p. 195. C.*

(*h*) See before in this work, chap. xliii. vol. 4. p. 632. and *Euf. H. E. Lib. 7. c. 30. p. 282. B. C.*

(*i*) *Ibid. p. 633. and Ep. Hær. 65. p. 608. A.*

(*k*) ηκ αγνοοντες οτι η εναγχος επαναστατη Εκκλησιαστικη ευσεβεια διδασκαλια Εβριου εστι και Αρτεμα . . . τα εκεινων κεκρυμμενα μυσχευματα, Αρειοστε και Αχιλλας, και η των συν αυτοις πονηρευομενων συνοδος. *Apud Theodorit. Hif. Eccles. Lib. 1. cap. 4. p. 15. B. C.*

SECT. IV. *Of the Time when he lived.*

TILLEMONT thinks that (1) Theodotus the Tanner or Currier, preceded Artemon: and perhaps it might be so. But as they must have lived both about the same time, and Theodoret speaks first of Artemon, and then of Theodotus, and as the book of the anonymous author beforementioned, was entitled, *An Argument against the Heresy of Artemon*, though he there mentions several others, I have chosen this order, without designing to determine which had the precedence in time. However, it must be owned, that that author says, Theodotus the Tanner was the author of that opinion. And possibly the reason of his entitling his work against the heresy of Artemon, was, that he was then living, and had promoted the doctrine of his late predecessors with some remarkable success. Tillemont supposeth, that Artemon arose about the year 200.

SECT. 4.

(1) See his article of the Theodotiens, et Melchisedeciens. Mem. E. T. 3.

C H A P. XVII.

Of THEODOTUS.

SECT. I. *Of his Time and Opinions.*

SECT. I. **T**HEODOTUS of Byzantium, called the Tanner, flourished, according to Cave, about the year 192. Basnage speaks of him at the year 187. I have (a) already given a distinct account of the work of an anonymous writer against Aretemon, supposed to have been published about the year 212, where this Theodotus is mentioned. He, and Eusebius who transcribes him, suppose him to have held the same opinion with Artemon, who said, that (b) Jesus Christ was a mere man. And moreover, that author (c) asserts him to have been the first, who taught that opinion: and says, (d) he was excommunicated by Victor.

(a) See Volume iii. chap: 32. p. 36.
50.

(b) Ψίλον ανθρωπον γενεσθαι. Euf. H. E.
L. 5. c. 28. p. 195. C.

(c) Τον της αιρεσεως ταυτης ευρετην. p. 196.
B.

(d) Βιχτωρ απεβαλλε Θεοδοτον τον της αιρε-
σεως. κ. τ. λ. Ibid.

SECT. II. *Passages from antient Authors concerning him.*

SECT. 2.
EPIPHANIUS's summary is to this effect. The (e) Theodotians are so called from Theodotus a Tanner of Byzantium. He was well acquainted with Greek learning. Having been taken up with several others in the persecution of that time, when they endured martyrdom, he alone fell. Being often reproached upon that account, he bethought himself to say, that Christ was only a man, that he might be no longer charged with having denied God.

What Epiphanius here says of Theodotus's learning, is very suitable to what the forementioned author (f) says of this party of men in general.

I shall by and by have occasion to make long extracts out of the larger article of Epiphanius, which I would willingly put together. I therefore proceed immediately to transcribe some other authors.

Theodoret only says, (g) that Theodotus the Tanner of Byzantium was of the same opinion with Artemas: but nevertheless was the leader of another party. He was excommunicated

(e) Θεοδοτιανοί, οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοδοτοῦ σκυτεως τῆ ἀπὸ Βυζαντίου, ὅτος ἐν παιδείᾳ Ἑλληνικῇ γεγενῆσθαι ἀκρὸς, ἀμὰ δὲ ἀλλοίς τισὶν ἐν ἡμερῶν τῇ τότε γενομένῳ διωγμῷ μόνος ἐκπέσων, ἐκείνων μαρτυρῶσαντων, διὰ τὸ οὐκ ἐπινοήσας ψιλὸν ἀνθρώπον λέγειν τὸν Χριστὸν, ἵνα μὴ ὑπὸ ἐκλήμα γένηται Θεοῦ ἀρνησάμενος, ὅτως ἐδίδαξεν. *Αἰν.* p. 397. No. 8. B. C.

(f) Γεωμετρίας ἐπιτηδεύουσιν . . . Εὐκλείδης γὰρ παρὰ τισὶν αὐτῶν φιλοπονώς γεωμετρεῖται.

Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ καὶ Θεόφραστος θαυμάζονται. Γάληνος γὰρ ἰσως ὑπὸ τινῶν καὶ προσκυνεῖται. κ. τ. λ. *Euf. Ecc. His. Lib. 5. cap. 28. p. 197. C.*

(g) Καὶ Θεοδοτός δὲ ὁ Βυζαντίος ὁ σκυτεὺς ταῦτα τῷ πεφρονήκῳ, ἑτέρας ἠγήσατο φάτρως. τῷτον δὲ ὁ τρεῖς μακάριος Βικτωρ, ὁ τῆς Ρωμαίων ἐπίσκοπος, ἀπεκηρεύει, ὡς παραχαραξάει πειράδεντα τῆς ἐκκλησίας τὰ δόγματα. *H. F. L. 2. c. 5. p. 220.*

SECT. 2. cated by Victor Bishop of Rome, as corrupting the true doctrine of the Church. He then tells the story concerning Natalis, formerly (*b*) taken notice of.

I shall transcribe in the margin the article (*i*) of the author of the Additions to Tertullian's Prescriptions. He tells the like story that Epiphanius does, of Theodotus's fall in time the of persecution. He says, his opinion was, that Christ was a man born of a virgin, and that he exceeded other men in the superiority of his virtue.

Philaster (*k*) beside other things, gives the like account of his Theodotus's fall: as does (*l*) Augustin also. But he does not speak positively of it: only, that it was so reported.

This Theodotus is also mentioned by Jerom. (*m*) We find him likewise in the fragment against Noches, ascribed to Hippolytus. (*n*) But he says nothing very material.

(*b*) *As before. p. 41. &c.*

(*i*) Accedit his Theodotus hæreticus Byzantius, qui posteaquam Christi pro nomine comprehensus negavit, in Christum blasphemare non destitit. Doctrinam enim introduxit, qua Christum hominem tantummodo diceret, Deum autem illum negaret: ex spiritu quidem sancto natum ex virgine, sed hominem solitarium atque nudum, nulla alia præ ceteris nisi sola justitiæ auctoritate. *Cap. 53. p. 254. D.*

(*k*) Post hos Theodotus quidam Byzantinus genere, denegator Christi Dei nostri in persecutione extitit Salvatoris, qui cepit dicere, docens ita communis homo erat, ut

omnes homines, Christus. *Har. 50 p. 14. Tom. 4. La Bigne. Paris. 1624.*

(*l*) Quod dicitur idem Theodotus propterea docuisse, quia in persecutione lapsus isto modo se casus sui devitare putabat opprobrium, si non Deum negasse, sed hominem videretur. *H. 33.*

(*m*) Numquid non possum tibi totam veterum scriptorum seriem commovere: . . . qui adversus Ebionem, et Theodotum Byzantinum, Valentinum, hæc eadem sentientes, plenæ sapientiæ volumina conscripserunt? *Adv. Helvid. p. 141. M.*

(*n*) *Vide Hipp. ex Ed. Fabr. P. 2. p. 7. n. 3.*

S E C T. III. *He is accused of denying Christ
in a Time of Persecution.*

I N his larger article Epiphanius says, he does (o) not know, SECT. 3.
whether any of that heresy were then subsisting. But
he will relate what he has met with in any writings concern-
ing them. He then says, that Theodotus was of Byzan-
tium, afterwards called Constantinople, a (p) Tanner by
trade, but very learned. After which he adds: in (q) some
persecution, he does not know what, he and many others were
apprehended by the Governor of the city. And all the rest,
when examined, bore a noble testimony to Christ, and ob-
tained a heavenly crown. But he denied Christ. Not being
able to endure the reproaches, which were cast upon him
in his own country, he went to Rome: where meeting with
some of his acquaintance, who put him in mind of his fall,
saying, it was strange that a man of so much knowledge
should deny the truth, he made a poor apology for himself,
saying, that he had only denied a man. After which he
always avowed that doctrine, that Jesus was a mere man, born
of a man.

(o) Και ει μιν υπαρχει η Αιρεσις επι αυτη
αγνωμενη. *Har.* 54. n. 1. p. 463. A.

(p) Σκυτευσ την τεχνην, πολυμαθης δε τω
λογω. *Ibid.*

(q) Ουκ οίδα ειπεν εν οποιω διωγμα. *Ibid.* 13.

SECT. IV. *Two Observations on what Epiphanius says of him.*

SECT. 4. **H**ERE are two things observable: first the fall of Theodotus, mentioned by him also before, and by some others. But Epiphanius did not know when it happened, or in what persecution. Nor have any others specified it. This miscarriage does not appear to have been mentioned by the anonymous author against Artemon, largely cited by us (r) formerly. If that story had been in his work, Eusebius would certainly have taken notice of it. Nor is it mentioned by Theodoret.

Secondly, Epiphanius charges Theodotus with teaching, that Jesus was born in the ordinary way, as other men are: which is not said by others, and is contrary to the author of the Additions to Tertullian's Prescriptions, who says his doctrine was, that Jesus was born of a virgin. Moreover, Theodoret says, his opinion was the same with that of Artemon, who held that Jesus was born of a virgin.

SECT. V. *The Scriptures of the Old and New Testament were received by him.*

SECT. 5. **E**PIPHANIUS then proceeds to observe some of the arguments by which Theodotus and his followers endeavoured to support their doctrine. And here he will be of great use to us. He will let us know, what texts they chiefly insisted upon, and what scriptures they made use of.

The

(r) Vol. 3. p. 36, &c.

The first text, which he mentions, is (f) John viii. 40. SECT. 5.

But now ye seek to kill me, a man that has told you the truth, which I have heard of God. Theodotus argued likewise, as Epiphanius says, (t) from Matt. xii. 31. 32. He also argued, says our author, (u) from what the law says of Christ in this manner, Deut. xviii. 15. The Lord will raise up unto you a prophet of your brethren, like unto me. Wherefore, says he, the Christ raised up of God, was not God, but man. For he was to be one of them, and a man, as Moses was. Whereby we see, that Theodotus received the Old Testament. Again he argued, that Christ was a man, from (x) Is. liii. 3. A man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief.

If Epiphanius may be relied upon, he argued from (y) Luke i. 35. which seems to shew, that Theodotus did not think, Christ was born as other men are. He also insisted upon (z) Acts ii. 22. *A man approved among you by signs and wonders*: and on (a) 1 Tim. ii. 5.

Epiphanius in his argument against this doctrine, by way of confutation, quotes (b) and argues from the beginning of

3 B

St.

(f) Οτι φασιν, ο κυριος εφη· νυν δε ζητετε με αποκτειναι ανθρωπον . . . ορας φησιν οτι ανθρωπος εστιν. *Adv. Hær. 54. n. 1. p. 463. D.*

(t) Ο λεγων λογον εις τον υιον τη ανθρωπι αφιδησεται. *Ibid. n. 2. p. 464. A. B.*

(u) Και παλιν δε ο αυτος θεοδοτος φησι· και νομος περι αυτη εφη· Προφητην εκ των αδελφων υμων εγερει κυριος, ως εμε. *n. 3. p. 464. D.*

(x) Ησαιας περι αυτη εφη οτι ανθρωπος εστιν, οτως ειπων, ανθρωπος ειδως φερειν μαλακίαν. και ειδομεν αυτον εν πληγη. κ. τ. λ. *Ibid. n. 5. p. 466. C.*

(y) Ειτα, φησι, και αυτο το ευαγγελιον εφη τη μαρια· Πνευμα κυριου επελευσεται επι σε. κ. λ. *n. 3. p. 465. A.*

(z) Αλλα φησιν ειπον οι αποστολοι, ανθρωπος αποδειγμενος εις υμας σημαισις και τερασιν· και εκ ειπον, Θεον αποδειγμενον. *Ibid. n. 5. p. 467. B.*

(a) Παλιν δε προφασιζεται λεγων, οτι εφη περι αυτη ο Αποστολος, οτι μεσσης Θεου και ανθρωπων Χριστος Ιησους. *Ibid. n. 6. p. 467. C.*

(b) Οτι δε ανωθεν εστιν ελθων ο λογος, Ιωαννης σαφηνισας την τη Αγγελει Ευαγγελικην φωνην λεγει. Εν αρχη ην κ. τ. λ. *Ibid. n. 3. p. 465. C. D.*

SECT. 5. St. John's gospel, and from (c) ch. viii. 56. 58. and from (d) Matt. xi. 27. and Luke x. 22. In answer to an argument brought by Theodotus from Jeremiah xvii. 9. (e) and from (f) Acts vii. 56. and from (g) Rom. i. 4. Gal. iv. 4. 1 Cor. viii. 5. 6.

From all which it is manifest, that this Theodotus and his followers received the scriptures of the Old and the New Testament, as other Christians did.

SECT. VI. *There were several of the same Name in the second Century.*

SECT. 6. **T**HERE were in the second century, several others of this name.

First, A Valentinian. Cave in his account of Theodotus the Tanner, ascribes to him all the opinions, which he has

(c) Επειδαν δε εστιν προ του Δαβιδ και προ του Αβρααμ . . . φησιν Αβρααμ γαρ, ο Πατηρ υμων επιθυμησε ιδειν την ημεραν μη και ειδε και εχαρη. ειτα αυτων θαυμαζοντων και λεγοντων, πεντηκοντα ετη εγω εχεις, και τον Αβρααμ ευρακας; ελεγχων Θεοδοτον και της απιστης και επαρνησιδους Ιουδαϊας εφη, αμην αμην λεγω υμιν, οτι προ Αβρααμ εγω ειμι. *Ibid.* n. 5. p. 467. A.

(d) Επειδαν γαρ υδεις οιδε τον υιον ει μη ο Πατηρ. κ. τ. λ. . . . υδεις αν γνωσεται αυτον εαν μη αυτω αποκαλυψη. *Ibid.* n. 4. p. 466. B.

(e) Παλιν Θεοδοτος λεγων, οτι και ο Ιερεμιας περι αυτη εφη, οτι ανθρωπος εστι και τις γνωσεται αυτον. *Ibid.* n. 4. p. 466. A.

The argument used by Theodotus, is founded on a mistaken translation in the LXX. who read *ωνι* as if it was a substantive signifying man. Whereas it is a participle, and signifies being in an incurable desperate state. But if it was a right translation, no argument to his purpose can be drawn from thence.

(f) Ελεγχη δε παλιν, ο Θεοδοτε, οτι παλιν οι αυτη Αποστολοι εν αυταις ταις πραξεσιν εφησαν, ως ο μακαριος Στεφανος φησιν· ιδω ορω τον υιον ανθρωπου ανευωγμενον, και τον υιον του ανθρωπου ερωτα εν δεξια του Θεου. *Ibid.* n. 5. p. 467. B.

(g) Ει δε δι η τα παντα, και ημεις εις αυτον, εκ αρα φιλος ανθρωπος ειη. κ. τ. λ. *Ibid.* n. 6. p. 467. C. D.

has (*b*) collected out of the oriental doctrine, subjoined to the works of Clement of Alexandria. But that is confounding things as different and opposite as can well be. Theodotus the Tanner is reckoned among those, who did not allow Jesus to have existed before his nativity of Mary: which is very different from the sentiments, represented by Cave from the above-named work. And yet Fabricus (*i*) seems to have been of the same opinion with Cave. Tillemont perceived, that (*k*) the Theodotus mentioned in these extracts was a Valentinian. Beausobre had no doubt of it. And says, he (*l*) flourished about the year of our Lord, 130.

Second, Theodotus, a Montanist, mentioned by Eusebius (*m*) in his Ecclesiastical History.

Third, Theodotus the Banker, mentioned by the anonymous author largely quoted by us long ago: where he is expressly said, to (*n*) be a disciple of Theodotus the Tanner.

(*b*) Hæresis vero Theodotianæ capita (qualia in excerptis ejus hodie reperiuntur) summa fere hæc fuerunt. Christum a Patre ante mundum conditum, creatum fuisse, &c. *H. L. P.* 1. p. 87. p. 52. *Gen.* 1720.

(*i*) *Vide Bib. Gr. T. v. p. 107.*

(*k*) *Mem. Ecc. T. 3. Les Theodotiens. sub init.*

(*l*) *Hist. de Manich. T. 1. p. 420. et T. 2. p. 163.*

(*m*) *L. 5. c. 3. p. 168. A. et 16. p. 181. D.*

(*n*) *See before, Vol. 3. p. 42.*

SECT. VII. *Theodotus the Banker generally supposed to be the Author of the Sect of the Melchisedechians.*

SECT. 7. **T**HIS Theodotus is now (o) generally supposed to have been the author of the sect of the Melchisedechians. And Theodoret (p) expressly says as much. But Epiphanius (q) does not appear to have had any knowledge of it. They both seem (r) to have thought those whom they call Melchisedechians a branch of the Theodotians, followers of Theodotus the Tanner. Possibly there never was any such set of men. But some Catholics, from some comparisons occasionally made by the Theodotians, or others, between Jesus and Melchisedec, imagined a distinct sect, and gave it such a name as they saw fit.

I place at the (s) bottom of the page, the article in the Additions to Tertullian, though somewhat long. Augustin's article

(o) See Tillem. T. 3. as before.

(p) Ηρξε δε της αιρεσεως ταυτης αλλος θεο-
δοτος, αργυρομοιχος την τεχνην. H. F. L. 2.
c. 6. p. 221.

(q) Μελχισεδεκιανης παλιν ετεροι εαυτης κα-
λυσιν, αποσπασθεντες ταχα απο των θεοδοτιανων
καλεμενων. H. 55. in. p. 468. B.

(r) Της δε μελχισεδεκιανης τμημα μεν ειναι
τητων φασι, καθ εν δε μοιον διαφωνειν, το του
μελχισεδεκ δυναμιν τινα και θειαν και μεγαλην
υπολαμβανειν, κατ εικονα δε αυτη και χριστον
γεννησθαι. Theodo. Ibid. et conf. Epiph.
note (5).

(s) Alter post hunc Theodotus hæreti-
cus erupit, qui et ipse introduxit alteram
sectam, et ipsum hominem Christum tan-

tummodo dicit ex spiritu sancto, ex virgine
Maria conceptum pariter et natum: sed
hunc inferiorem esse quam Melchisedec,
eo quod dictum sit de Christo: Tu es sa-
cerdos in æternum, secundum ordinem Mel-
chisedec. Nam illum Melchisedec præci-
puæ gratiæ cœlestem esse virtutem: eo
quod agat Christus pro hominibus, depre-
cator et advocatus ipsorum factus: Mel-
chisedec facere pro cœlestibus angelis et
virtutibus. Nam esse illum usque adeo
Christo meliorem, ut apator sit, amator
sit, agenealogetus sit, cujus neque initium,
neque finis comprehensus sit, aut com-
prehendi possit. Cap. 53. p. 254. 255.
218. 5.

article (*t*) of the Melchisedechians is short. He knew SECT. 7. nothing of the author of this sect, as Epiphanius had not mentioned him in his summary. Nor indeed has Epiphanius any where mentioned Theodotus the Banker. For as observed above, he supposed the Melchisedechians to be a branch of the followers of Theodotus the Tanner, or separated from them into a new sect, called Melchisedechians. Nor does Philaster make any mention of Theodotus the Banker: though he has two (*u*) chapters of opinions concerning Melchisedec, and one of them longer than usual.

Epiphanius says, not very disagreeably to Theodoret, or the author of the Additions to Tertullian, that (*x*) the Melchisedechians thought Melchisedec to be a great power (*y*) in high places, and greater than Christ: because Christ is said to have been made a priest after the order of Melchisedec. Psalm cx. 4. And they endeavoured to support their opinion from what is said by Paul of Melchisedec, in the epistle to the Hebrews, vii. 3. *Without father, without mother.*

Epiphanius afterwards mentions divers opinions among Christians concerning Melchisedec. And perhaps he might as properly have made a distinct heresy of each one of them, as he has done of this.

(*t*) Melchisedeciani Melchisedec sacerdotem Dei excelsi, non hominem fuisse, sed virtutem Dei esse arbitrantur. *H.* 34.

(*u*) Vide *H.* 52. p. 106. *H.* 144. p. 312. 318.

(*x*) *H.* 55. n. 1.

(*y*) Εἶναι δὲ αὐτοῦ αὐτὴν ἐν ἀκατοιομασίᾳ τῶν πωρῶν. *Ibid.* 468. B.

C H A P. XVIII.

Of HERMOGENES.

SECT. I. *Of his Time and Country.*

SECT. I. **C**A V E speaks of Hermogenes at (a) the year 170. Bafnage (b) at 168, as does (c) Le Clerc also. Tillemont says, he (d) must have appeared before the end of the reign of Marc Antonine, who died in 180, about which time I likewise choose to place him. Tertullian several times speaks of him (e) as a late heretic, or then living. And joins one Nigidius with him.

Baronius (f) and Du Pin (g) say, he was of Africa. On the other hand, Valesius (h) and Pagi (i) argue, that there is no more reason to think, that Hermogenes was of Africa, because Tertullian wrote against him, than that he was of Asia, because Theophilus did the like. Nevertheless Bafnage (k) is inclined to think, he was of Africa. For Tertullian describes (l) his employment and actions, as if he was

(a) *H. L. T.* 1. p. 74.(b) *A.* 168. n. 5.(c) *H. E.* p. 722. 723.(d) *Mem. Ec. T.* 3. *Hermogene.*(e) Hermogenis autem doctrina tam novella est, denique ad hodiernum homo in seculo. *Adv. Herm.* c. 1. p. 265. 335. C.

Ceterum et Nigidius nescio quis, et Hermogenes, et multi alii, qui adhuc ambu-

lant pervertentes vias Domini, ostendant mihi. *Præsc. c.* 30. p. 242. *D.* p. 106.(f) *A. D.* 170. n. 11.(g) *Bib. T.* 1. p. 98.(h) *Annot. ad Euf. L.* 4. c. 24.(i) *A.* 168. n. 5.(k) *Ubi. supra.*(l) *Vide Adv. H. c.* 1. p. 335.

was no stranger to him. And Philaster (*m*) and Augustin (*n*) suppose, that he taught in Africa. The first of which arguments, undoubtedly, is of some weight. For Tertullian writes, as if he was well acquainted with his way of living. But whether what Augustin and Philaster say, deserves much notice, I cannot tell: because they do not seem to have had an exact knowledge of Hermogenes. I put in the margin a note (*o*) of Fabricius upon Philaster. SECT. 1.

SECT. II. *What Authors say of him, and by whom he is omitted.*

HERMOGENES is not in Irenæus. Possibly, he had not appeared, when Irenæus wrote: or at least, not long before. For which reason he might be totally ignorant of him. Nor is Hermogenes in Epiphanius. He is also omitted in the Appendix to Tertullian's book of Prescriptions. Nor has Philaster, or Augustin, a distinct article for him. They only speak of him in their chapters concerning Sabellius, before taken notice of. However, they mention one (*p*) Hermias, together with Seleucus: who by some may be thought to be the same as Hermogenes. But Philaster SECT. 2.
calls

(*m*) Unde et Sabelliani postea sunt appellati, qui et Patripassiani, et Praxiani, . . et Hermogeniani ab Hermogene, qui fuerunt in Africa. *H.* 54. *p.* 108.

(*n*) Et Hermogeniani vocari ab Hermogene potuerunt: qui Praxeas et Hermogenes eadem sentientes in Africa fuisse dicuntur. *H.* 41.

(*o*) Ex Philastrio Hermogenem in Sabellii contubernio referunt Augustinus et auctor Prædestinati. Sed Tertullianus, qui singulari opere errorem Hermogenis de materiæ æternitate confutavit, de Hermogenis patripassianismo, &c. *Fabric.*

(*p*) *Ap. Philast. H.* 55. *p.* 109. 112. *Ap. Aug. H.* 59.

SECT. 2. calls them (*q*) Galatians. And in Augustin these are placed in a late order, after all the heresies mentioned by Epiphanius, and are entirely taken by him from Philaster. In my account of Hermogenes therefore I shall make little or no use of those articles. Hermogenes is mentioned by Eusebius and Jerom in their accounts of the works of Theophilus of Antioch: of which I took notice (*f*) formerly. But our main intelligence concerning Hermogenes must be received from Tertullian.

SECT. III. *Some Account of him, and those who wrote against him.*

SECT. 3. **H**OWEVER as a summary may be of use, I shall here put down that of Theodoret, which is to this purpose. Hermogenes (*t*) taught, that God made the world out of matter, which was co-eternal with him. For the foolish man thought it not possible for God to make all things out of nothing. He also taught, that our Lord's body was deposited in the sun, and that the Devil and Demons would be again resolved into matter. Against him wrote Theophilus, Bishop of Antioch, and Origen.

We still have a treatise of Tertullian against the heresy of Hermogenes. And he refers to another work against him (*u*) concerning the origin of the soul, not now extant.

(*q*) Quæ est hæc vanitas Galatarum, Seleuci et Hermiæ, hæreticorum? p. 109.

(*f*) See before, Vol. 2. chap. 22. near the beginning.

(*t*) Ο δὲ . . . ἐξ υποκειμένης ὑλῆς καὶ συναγμένης τοῦ θεοῦ ἐφ' ἡμιουργοῦναι τὰ πάντα· ἀδύνατον γὰρ ὑπελαβεῖν ὁ ἐμψρονητός καὶ τῷ

θεῷ τῶν ὁλῶν, ἐκ μὴ ὄντων δημιουργεῖν. Οὗτος τῇ κυρίῃ τὸ σῶμα ἐν τῷ ἡλίῳ εἶπεν ἀποτεθῆναι· τὸν δὲ διαβόλον καὶ τῆς δαιμονίας εἰς τὴν ὑλὴν ἀναχέθησθαι. H. F. L. 1. c. 19.

(*u*) Vide de Anima. cap. 1. p. 304. B. p. 639.

SECT.

SECT. IV. *He was skilled in Painting, and was originally a Christian.*

WE learn from Tertullian, that Hermogenes (x) was skilled SECT. 4.
in painting. Whether he practised it as a trade, or for his diversion only, may not be quite certain from Tertullian's expressions. But that he was a painter by profession is somewhat probable. It seems likewise, that Hermogenes was originally a Christian. For Tertullian does not say, that he brought over his principles from Heathenism, but that of (y) a Christian he became a Philosopher and a Stoic. We may conclude, that (z) Hermogenes was not only learned and ingenious, but likewise virtuous. For Tertullian seems not able to charge him with any vice. He only insinuates, that he had more favourable sentiments of marriage, than some others had. He likewise seems not to like his painting. But wherein the fault lay, does not clearly appear.

(x) Præterea pingit illicite. *Adv. Herm.* c. 1. p. 265. C. p. 335.

Hanc primam umbram plane sine lumine pessimus pictor illis argumentationibus coloravit. *Ibid. D. Vide et cap. ult. p. 288. D. 356.*

(y) A Christianis enim conversus ad Philosophos, de Ecclesia in Academiam et Por-

ticum. Inde sumfit a Stoicis materiam cum Domino ponere. *P. 265. D. 335.*

(z) Qui loquacitatem facundiam existimat. . . Præterea pingit illicite . . nubit assidue . . totus adulter, et prædicationis et carnis: siquidem et habentium contagio foetet. *C. 1. p. 265. C. D. 335.*

SECT. V. *Some Account of his Opinions concerning the Eternity of Matter.*

SECT. 5. **T**HEODORET informed us, that Hermogenes asserted the eternity of matter: out of which God made the world, and not out of nothing. The chief design of Tertullian's book is to confute that notion, which was the opinion of the Stoics, of which therefore Tertullian (*a*) speaks very frequently. And he calls him and others of that opinion (*b*) Materialists. Of this (*c*) he speaks likewise in another work. He also represents at large the reasonings of Hermogenes to shew, that God made the world out of pre-existent matter. "For, says he, God (*d*) must have made

(*a*) . . . nolens illum ex nihilo universa fecisse . . . Inde sumit a Stoicis materiam cum Domino ponere, quæ ipsa semper fuerit, neque nata, neque facta, nec initium habens nec finem, ex qua Dominus omnia postea fecerit. *Cap. 1. p. 265. D. 335.* Cum enim neget, materiam natam aut factam. *Cap. 3. p. 267. B. 336. Vide et cap. 4, 5, 6.*

(*b*) Audio enim, apud Hermogenem, ceterosque materiarios hæreticos, terram quidem illam informem et invisibilem et rudem fuisse: hanc vero nostram proinde et formam, et conspectum et cultum a Deo confectum. *Cap. 25. p. 278. B. 13. 346.*

(*c*) Hæc erit materia, quæ nos commisit cum Hermogene, ceterisque, qui Deum ex materia, non ex nihilo operatum cuncta, præsumunt. *Adv. Val. c. 16. p. 297. B. 10. 394.*

(*d*) Præstruens, aut Dominum de semet ipso fecisse cuncta, aut de nihilo, aut de

aliquo. . . Igitur non de semetipso fecisse. Proinde ex nihilo non potuisse eum facere, sic contendit. Bonum et Optimum definens Dominum, qui bona atque optima tam velit facere quam sit: immo nihil non bonum atque optimum et velle eum et facere. Igitur omnia ab eo bona et optima oportuisse fieri secundum conditionem ipsius. Inveniri autem et mala ab eo facta, utique non ex arbitrio, nec ex voluntate . . . Quod ergo non ex arbitrio suo fecerit, intelligi oportere ex vitio alicujus rei factum, ex materia esse sine dubio. Adjicit et aliud: Deum semper Deum etiam Dominum fuisse, nunquam non Deum. Nullo porro modo potuisse illum semper Dominum haberi, sicut et semper Deum, si non fuisset aliquid retro semper, cujus Dominus semper haberetur. Fuisse itaque materiam semper Deo Domino. *Ad. Hermo. c. 2, 3. p. 296. A. B. C.*

made the world out of himself, or out of nothing, or out of something. That God should make the world out of himself, is too manifest an absurdity, to need a long confutation. And that God did not make it out of nothing, he argues in this manner. He lays it down for a certain truth, that God is good, yea most good and excellent. He therefore cannot choose, nor will evil. And yet there is evil in the world. Consequently it was necessary, and can be owing to nothing but matter. Moreover, he was always Lord. But he could not have been always Lord as well as God, if there had not ever been somewhat subject to him. It follows therefore, that (e) God made the world out of something, even matter."

I need not enlarge any farther. But I do not see, that Hermogenes argued so much from the impossibility of God's making the world out of nothing, as from the unfitness of it. If the world has been made out of nothing, he feared, that the evil therein must be ascribed to the will of God, which would have been a reflection on his goodness. But matter, out of which the world was made, being inherently (f) evil, he supposed, that he thereby vindicated the Divine Being.

(e) . . . cum vult eum de materia cuncta fecisse. *Cap. 8. p. 269. C.*

Magis autem, inquit *Tertullianus*, eum decuit ex voluntate fecisse, quam ex necessitate, id est, ex nihilo potius quam ex materia. *Cap. 14. p. 272. C.*

(f) Et tamen unde nobis persuadet Hermogenes, malam esse materiam? *Cap. 11. p. 270. D. 340.*

Age nunc malam ac pessimam credamus esse materiam. *Cap. 12. p. 271. B. 340.*

SECT. VI. *He believed one supreme God, unchangeably good.*

SECT. 6. **T**ERTULLIAN says, that (*g*) if matter be eternal, there must be two Gods. But Hermogenes did not allow that. He asserted one God, supreme over all, maker of the world, unchangeably good, with whom no other being could be compared. Nevertheless, it must be allowed, that (*h*) Tertullian has well enough confuted the opinion of Hermogenes. And he well observes, that (*i*) the schemes of Hermogenes and others, for accounting for the origin of evil, are not satisfactory.

(*g*) Ita Hermogenes duos deos infert . . Innatus Deus. An non et innata materia? Ambo sine initio sine fine. . . Vel qua, inquit, et sic habente materia, salva sit Deo auctoritas et substantia, qua solus et primus auctor est, et Dominus omnium confectur. . . Dicit saluum Deo esse, ut et solus sit, et primus, et omnium auctor, et omnium Dominus, et nemini comparandus. *Cap. 4, 5, 6. p. 267. 268. 337.*

Sicut Deum bonum et optimum credimus . . porro naturam certam, . . quam in bono apud Deum incorruptibilem et indemutabilem. *Cap. 12. p. 271. B.*

(*h*) Addit et alias rationes non omnino malas, si in meliore luce collocarentur: hoc est, clariore dictione exprimerentur, et commodiore ordine disponderentur. *Cleric. H. E. 168. n. 14.*

(*i*) Ergo, inquit, ex nihilo faceret, ut mala quoque arbitrio ejus imputarentur? Magna, bona fide, cæcitas hæreticorum pro hujusmodi argumentatione. Cum ideo aut alium Deum bonum et optimum volunt credi, quia mali auctorem existiment creatorem: aut materiam cum Creatore proponunt, ut malum a materia, non a Creatore deducant: quando nullus omnino Deus liberetur ista quæstione, ut non auctor mali videri proinde possit, quisquis ille est, qui malum, etsi non ipse fecit, tamen a quocunque, et unde passus est fieri. *Cap. 10. p. 270. B.*

Ita enim sine causa laboras, ne malorum auctor constituatur Deus; qui etsi de materia fecit, ipsi deputabuntur, qui fecit, proinde quatenus fecit. *Cap. 14. p. 272. B. 341.*

S E C T. VII. *He ascribed to Matter an irregular Motion, but introduced no Æons.*

HERMOGENES ascribed to matter originally (*k*) an SECT. 7. irregular and turbulent motion.

We now perceive the scheme of Hermogenes. He did not introduce any Æons, nor any Creator different from the one God the Father. But he said, that matter was eternal, and God made the world out of it. To this matter he ascribed all the evil and all the defects, which there are in any creatures. Matter had always a confused and irregular turbulent motion. God brought order, and beauty, and proportion, out of that confused and indigested matter. (*l*)

(*k*) Commune autem inter illos facis, quod a semet ipsis moventur, et semper moventur. Quid minus materiæ quam Deo adscribis? Totum consortium Divinitatis hoc erit, libertas et æternitas motus. Sed Deus composite, materia incondite movetur. Nam, secundum ollæ similitudinem sic erat, inquis, materiæ motus, antequam disponeretur, concretus, inquietus, inadprehensibilis, præ nimietate certaminis. *Cap. 42. 43. p. 287. 354. B. C. Vide et cap. 45, p. 288. C. D.*

(*l*) Audio enim, apud Hermogenem, ceterosque materiarios hæreticos, terram quidem illam informem et invisibilem et rudem fuisse: hanc vero nostram proinde et formam, et conspectum et cultum, a Deo consecutam. *Cap. 25. p. 278. B.*

Postea infers: at ubi accepit compositionem a Deo, et ornata est, cessavit a natura. *Cap. 43. p. 287. C. 22. 355.*

S E C T.

S E C T. VIII. *No distinct Account of his Opinion concerning the Person of Jesus Christ.*

SECT. 8.

WE are not distinctly informed, what were the conceptions of Hermogenes concerning the person of Jesus Christ. Theodoret says, he thought the body of Jesus was lodged in the sun. The same notion is ascribed to him in the extracts of the Prophets (*m*) at the end of Clement of Alexandria. Philaster (*n*) and Augustin (*o*) ascribe the same opinion to the followers of Seleucus and Hermias, before taken notice of.

S E C T. IX. *Some other Opinions of his about the Origin of the Soul, human Liberty, the Devil, Demons, and a future Judgment.*

SECT. 9.

TERTULLIAN seems to say, that, according to Hermogenes, God (*p*) made the soul out of matter. The reason of this is assigned in one of the passages at the bottom of the page.

Tertullian

(*m*) P. 808. D. Paris. p. 1002. Potter.

(*n*) Salvatorem autem in carne negant sedere ad dexteram Patris, sed expoliassē carnem, et posuisse in solem æstimant: quia dixit Propheta. In sole posuit tabernaculum suum. H. 55. p. 111.

(*o*) Seleuciani sunt vel Hermiani ab auctoribus Seleuco et Hermia. . . Negant salvatorem in carne sedere ad dexteram Patris, sed ea se exuisse perhibent, eam que in sole posuisse, accipientes occasionem de Psalmo. H. 59.

(*p*) De solo censu animæ congressus Hermogeni, quatenus et istum ex materiæ potius suggestu, quam ex Dei flatu constituisse præsumpsit. De Anim. cap. 1. p. 334. B. 639.

Una jam congressione decisa adversus Hermogenem, ut præfati sumus: quia animam ex Dei flatu, non ex materia vindicamus. Ibid. c. 3. p. 307. A.

Ceterum adversus Hermogenem, qui eam ex materia, non ex Dei flatu contendit, flatum

Tertullian asserted human liberty. And I think, he (*q*) SECT. 9. does not deny it to have been held by Marcion and Hermogenes.

Theodoret, as before quoted, said, Hermogenes taught, that the Devil and Demons would be again resolved into matter. In which there is nothing wonderful: since from thence they had arisen. Moreover, possibly, he conceived the confluence of matter, or some part of it, to be the abyss, and place of torment assigned to (*r*) the Devil and his angels at their final condemnation.

Whence we are led to observe, that (*f*) this person believed a future judgment, and, probably, all the other great articles of religion. That he believed a future judgment appears from the passage just transcribed, and from another a little while (*t*) ago.

flatum proprie tuemur. Ille enim adversus ipsius scripturæ fidem flatum in spiritum vertit ut dum incredibile est, spiritum Dei in delictum, et mox in judicium devenire, ex materia potius anima credatur, quam ex Dei spiritu. *Ibid.* c. 11. p. 313. C. D. 648.

(*q*) Inesse autem nobis *αυτεξουσιαν* naturaliter, jam et Marcioni ostendimus, et Hermogeni. *De Anim.* c. 21. p. 324. C. 658.

(*r*) Quod si tunc erit mali finis, cum præses ejus diabolus abierit in ignem, quem præparavit illi Deus et ejus, prius in puteum abyssi relegatus. *In Herm.* c. 11. p. 271. A. B. 6. 340.

(*f*) . . et ita nos frustra laboramus de auferendo malo ex nobis ipsis: tum et Deus hoc frustra mandat et præcipit: immo et judicium frustra constituit Deus, injustitia utique puniturus. *Ib.* p. 271. A. 340.

(*t*) See note (*p*) third passage in the page foregoing.

SECT. X. *He never set up a separate Communion.*

SECT. 10. **T**HUS we have taken notice of all the particular opinions ascribed to Hermogenes by the ancients. But perhaps none of the accounts need to be relied upon, except those in Tertullian. And it seems to me somewhat probable, that Hermogenes never formed a party, or set up a separate communion. For Tertullian says nothing of his having separate assemblies. I apprehend therefore, that Hermogenes was willing to communicate with Catholic Christians, if they would admit him: though he indulged himself in speculations, that led him into some sentiments, a little out of the common road.

SECT. XI. *His Testimony to Scripture.*

SECT. 11. **N**OTHING remains, but that we consider his testimony to the scriptures.

Le Clerc takes notice, that (u) Tertullian argues with him, as one who received the scriptures. Indeed, Tertullian in arguing with Hermogenes, quotes every part of scripture, as received by him: particularly the books of Moses, (x) and

(u) Ideoque cum eo agit, quasi cum homine, qui S. scripturam admitteret. *H. E.* p. 722. n. 13.

(x) Sed et ad originale instrumentum Moyfi provocabo, unde et diversa pars suspiciones suas ingratas fulcire conatur, ne scilicet non

inde instrui videretur, unde oportet. Itaque occasiones sibi sumit quorundam verborum, ut hæreticis fere mos est simplicia quæque torquere. Nam et ipsum principium, in quo Deus fecit coelum et terram, aliquid volunt

and his account of the creation. Nay Hermogenes and his friends endeavoured to support the notion of God's making the world out of matter, or chaos, from that account. And he argued, that (*y*) the scriptures had not expressly said, that God made the world out of nothing. Tertullian warns (*z*) him not to assert the world to have been made out of matter, without authority from scripture. And speaks as if Hermogenes must have dreaded such a conduct, and the consequences of it.

SECT. II.

volunt fuisse quasi substantivum et corpulentum, quod in materiam interpretari possit. *Cap. 19. p. 275. A.*

Sed ex sequentibus argumentatur, quia scriptum sit: Terra autem erat invisibilis et incomposita. Nam et terræ nomen redigit in materiam. *Ibid. cap. 23. p. 277. C.*

Vult igitur duas proponi terras in ista scriptura: unam, quam in principio Deus fecit: aliam, materiam, ex qua fecit, de qua dictum sit: Terra autem erat invisibilis et rudis. *Cap. 25. p. 278. B.*

(*y*) Ergo, inquis, si tu ideo præjudicas, ex nihilo facta omnia, quia non sit mani-

feste relatum de materia præcedenti factum quid: vide, ne diversa pars ideo contendat, ex materia omnia facta, quia proinde non aperte significatum sit, ex nihilo quid factum. *Cap. 21. p. 276. C.*

(*z*) Adoro scripturæ plenitudinem, qua mihi et factorem manifestat et facta. In Evangelio vero amplius et ministrum atque arbitrum rectoris invenio sermonem. An autem de aliqua subjacenti materia facta sint omnia, nusquam adhuc legi. Scriptum esse doceat Hermogenis officina. Si non est scriptum, timeat vae illud, adjicientibus aut detrahentibus destinatum. *Cap. 22. p. 277. B.*

SECT. XII. *He received both the Old and New Testament.*

SECT. 12.

TERTULLIAN refers to (*a*) the book of Proverbs. He quotes (*b*) David in the 102 Psalm, and several of the Prophets by name.

That Hermogenes and others (*c*) respected Christ, the Prophets, and the Apostles, is apparent. Tertullian quotes Old and New Testament to him, particularly (*d*) St. Matthew's and St. John's (*e*) Gospels, and (*f*) Paul's Epistles.

Upon the whole, I think it plain, that Hermogenes received and respected the scriptures of the Old and the New Testament, as other Christians of his time did.

(*a*) Si necessaria est Deo materia ad opera mundi, ut Hermogenes existimavit, habuit Deus materiam longe digniorem . . non apud philosophos æstimandum, sed apud prophetas, Sophiam suam scilicet. . . . Quum pararet cælum inquit, aderam ei, &c. *Cap. 18. p. 274. B. C. D.*

(*b*) Sic et David, *p. 283.* Sic enim et Esaias. *Cap. 29. p. 280. B. et c. 32. p. 282. B.* Sic enim et Hieremias commendat. *Cap. 45. p. 288. B.* Apud Danielelem. *Cap. 44. p. 287. C.* De spiritu æque Amos. *Cap. 32. p. 282. B.*

(*c*) Nisi quod solus eam (materiam) Hermogenes cognovit, et hæreticorum patriarchæ philosophi. Prophetis enim et Apostolis usque adhuc latuit, puto et Christo. *Cap. 8. p. 269. D.* Plane a philosophis recedis: sed tamen et a Prophetis. *Cap. 44. p. 287. C.* At enim Prophetæ et Apostoli

non ita tradunt mundum factum. *Cap. 45. p. 288. A.*

(*d*) Cum præses ejus diabolus abierit in ignem, quem præparavit illi Deus et angelis ejus. *Cap. 11. p. 271. B. Vide et c. 12. p. 271. C.*

(*e*) Denique Evangelium ut supplementum instrumenti veteris adhibebo, in quo vel eo magis debuerat ostendi Deus ex aliqua materia universa fecisse, quod illis etiam per quem omnia fecerit, revelatur. In principio erat fermo. Et fermo erat apud Deum . . . omnia per ipsum facta sunt, et sine ipso factum est nihil. *Cap. 20. p. 276. A. B. Vide et cap. 18. p. 275. A.*

(*f*) Hæc autem sunt invisibilia ejus, quæ secundum Apostolum ab institutione mundi de factis ejus conspiciuntur, &c. *Cap. 45. p. 288. C. Vide et c. 11. p. 271. B. et c. 4. p. 267. C. et passim.*

SECT.

S E C T. XIII. *No Account of any Writings
of his.*

THERE is no account of any writings of Hermogenes, SECT. 13.
though it may be reckoned probable, that he was
an author. Possibly it might be inferred from many things
in (g) Tertullian, and from the tenour of his arguments.
Cave, however, at his conclusion of this article, triumphs
in (b) the loss of his works, if there were any. Which I
am sorry to see. For it appears to me below a man of letters.
The notions and reasonings of Hermogenes could have done
no harm to any men of these times, who are capable of ex-
amining. And we might have made some good use of his
works, as we have done of the fragments of Heracleon, and
others.

(g) Et quidem epinoemata illius retor-
quebo adversus illum. *Cap. 3. p. 267. B.*
Nam et Hermogenes expugnat quorundam
argumentationes, dicentium, mala necessaria
fuisse, ad inlustrationem bonorum. *Cap.*
15. p. 273. B. Dehinc subjicis . . . Supra

certamen motus adscribis, hic tarditatem . .
Supra dicis . . . Horum immemor, postea
infers. *Cap. 43. p. 287. B.*

(b) Verum scripta ista in Deum blasphem-
a piorum zelus et propria impietas æternis
tenebris merito damnavit. *H. L. p. 74.*

C H A P. XIX.

*Of the MONTANISTS.*S E C T. I. *Antient Writers who speak of them.*

SECT. I. **I** HAVE already several times had occasion to speak of the Montanists in my accounts of ancient authors, who wrote against them: as (*a*) Miltiades, (*b*) Serapion, (*c*) Claudius Apollinaris, (*d*) Apollonius, (*e*) Caius, (*f*) Asterius Urbanus. To whom may be added (*g*) the Letters of the Churches of Vienne and Lyons. And it is well known, that Tertullian embraced their prophecy. Which therefore obliged me to take some notice of them in his (*h*) history.

S E C T. II. *Of the Time when they first sprang up.*

SECT. 2. **T**HE rise of Montanism is generally placed by learned moderns about (*i*) the year 171, agreeably to Eusebius in his (*k*) Chronicle: who there placeth it at the eleventh of Marc Antonine: as he does also in his Ecclesiastical History: for speaking of the Letters of the Martyrs at Lyons, who

(*a*) See before, ch. 19. near the beginning.

(*b*) Chap. 26.

(*c*) Chap. 28. n. 11.

(*d*) Chap. 31.

(*e*) Chap. 32. near the beginning.

(*f*) Chap. 33.

(*g*) Chap. 16.

(*h*) See Chap. 27. not far from the beginning.

(*i*) Vide Basnag. Ann. 171. n. 2. Cas. H. L. T. 1. p. 74. Massuet Diff. Iren. p. 79. Tillem. Mem. Ec. T. 2. Les Montanistes. Art. 1. et note 1.

(*k*) Pseudo prophetia, quæ Kata-phrygas nominatur, accepit exordium, auctore Montano, et Priscilla et Maximilla, insanis vaticibus. Chr. p. 170.

who are supposed to have suffered in 177, or, at the soonest, in 167, he says, that (*l*) the followers of Montanus did then but begin to be known in the world. He expresseth himself again to (*m*) the like purpose in his account of the books of Apollinaris against them, who flourished about the year of Christ 176.

Nevertheless (*n*) Pearson, and (*o*) Beaufobre, are of opinion, that Montanism appeared in the year 156, or 157, soon after the middle of the second century: and Baratieri (*p*) in 126. But it seems to me, that Eusebius could not be much mistaken, who was in general very well acquainted with Ecclesiastical Antiquity, and had before him the works of many ancient writers in this controversy. However, if any should be disposed to place the rise of this affair ten or fifteen years sooner, the difference would not be very great.

Epiphanius, who is not always exact in his chronology, says, that (*q*) Montanus set up his pretensions in the nineteenth of Antonine the Pious, or about the year of Christ 156. His reasons for that computation are assigned by Petavius in his animadversions upon him. And Tillemont should be (*r*) consulted.

(*l*) Τῶν δ' ἀμφὶ τοῦ μοντανῶν . . . περὶ τὴν φρυγίαν ἀρτί τότε πρῶτον . . . παρὰ πολλοῖς ἐκφερομένων. *L.* 5. c. 3. p. 168. *A.*

(*m*) Τότε γέμην ὡς περ ἐκφύειν ἀρχομένης ἐπὶ τῇ μοντανῇ . . . ἀρχὰς τῆς παρεκτροπῆς ποιούμενῃ. *L.* 4. c. 27.

(*n*) *Opp. Post.* p. 253. 155.

(*o*) *Hist. de Manich.* T. 1. p. 350.

(*p*) *Disquisit. Chron.* p. 150.

(*q*) *H.* 48. n. 1.

(*r*) *Les Montanistes*, note 1.

S E C T. III. *From whence they derived their Name, and the Extent and Continuance of their Opinions.*

SECT. 3. **T**HEY are called (*f*) Montanists from Montanus; Phrygians, and Cata-Phrygians from the country where they sprang up; Pepuzians from a village in Phrygia, which was respected by them as another Jerusalem.

Irenæus has not any where expressly mentioned the Montanists. But he is supposed to refer to them, or intend them, in (*t*) two places of his work against heresies. They are twice mentioned plainly by (*u*) Clement of Alexandria. They were for a time countenanced (*x*) by a Bishop of Rome. But learned men are not agreed, whether it was Victor, or some other.

This people subsisted a good while. For the Cata-Phrygians are expressly mentioned in Constantine's Edicts (*y*) against heretics. Epiphanius says, they (*z*) were then in Cappadocia, Galatia, and Phrygia: and numerous in Cilicia, and at Constantinople.

(*f*) *Vide Theod. H. Fab. L. 3. cap. 2. B. C.*

(*t*) *L. 3. cap. 11. p. 192. L. 4. c. 33. [al. 53.] n. 6. p. 271. Maff.*

(*u*) *Αλλά και οι φρυγες· ήδη γαρ και ουτοι της τη νεα προφητεια μη προσεχοντας ψυχικης καλυσιν. Str. 4. p. 511. A. Vide et Str. 7. p. 765. C.*

(*x*) *Nam idem tunc Episcopum Romanum, agnoscentem jam prophetias Mon-*

tani, Priscillæ et Maximillæ, et ex ea agnitione pacem ecclesiis Asiæ et Phrygiæ inferentem, falsa de ipsis prophetis et ecclesiis eorum adseverando, et præcessorum ejus auctoritates defendendo, coegit et literas pacis revocare jam emissas, et a proposito recipiendorum charismatum concessare. Tertul. adv. Præsc. c. 1. p. 634. C.

(*y*) *See before, Vol. 7. 397. 421.*

(*z*) *H. 48. n. 14. p. 416.*

stantinople. Augustin, (a) and (b) Sozomen, and (c) Theodoret speak of them, as in being in their times. A Montanist endeavoured to pervert Marcella, (d) to whom Jerom writes.

SECT. 3.

SECT. IV. *Where Montanus was born, and of certain Reproaches cast on him and his followers.*

IT is generally supposed, that Montanus was born at Ardaba, in Mysia: which was either a part of Phrygia, or lay contiguous to it. It is likewise said, that (e) he was but a new convert to Christianity, when he had the vanity to set up for a prophet. These two particulars are taken from an author, in Eusebius, whom we reckon to be Asterius Urbanus. Nevertheless, he does not speak positively. He only mentions them, as things commonly said and reported. Theodoret too says, that (f) Montanus was of Ardaba.

SECT. 4.

I am unwilling to take notice of some things said of Montanus. St. Jerom reproaches him with (g) being an Eunuch: the reason of which is assigned by the Benedictins in

(a) Et etiam nunc in eisdem partibus populos habent. *August. de Her. cap. 26.*

(b) *L. 7. c. 18. p. 733.*

(c) *H. Fab. L. 3. c. 2.*

(d) Testimonia de Joannis Evangelio congregata tibi quidam Montani sectator ingressit. *Adv. Marc. Ep. 27. T. 4. p. 64.*

(e) Κωμη τις ειπαι λεγεται εν τη κατὰ Φρυγιαν μυσια, καλυμμενη αρδαβα τ' ενομα. Ερθαφασι τινα των νεοπιστων πρωτως μοντανον εν επιθυμια ψυχης αμετρω φιλοπρωτειας. κ. λ. *Ap. Euf. L. 5. c. 16. p. 180. A.*

(f) *H. F. Lib. 3. cap. 2. p. 227.*

(g) Abscisum et semivirum habuisse Montanum. *Ad. Marcell. Ep. 27. al. 54. T. 4. p. 65.*

SECT. 4. in a note (*b*) upon the place. Cyril of Jerufalem fays, that (*i*) Montanus was a man covered all over with filthinefs and impurity, not fit to be mentioned. And Ifidore of Pelufium affirms, that (*k*) he was guilty of adultery. But I humbly conceive, that thefe testimonies are too late. Neither Eufebius, nor the authors quoted by him, fome of which were contemporaries with Montanus, and others who lived not long after him, lay any fuch thing to his charge.

We formerly took notice of a report, that (*l*) Montanus and Maximilla laid violent hands on themfelves. But the author, who mentions that ftory, did not give credit to it. We are therefore under no obligation to pay any regard to it. The manners of the feft will be confidered by and by.

SECT. V. *Of his Companions and Affiftants, and their Prophecies.*

SECT. 5. **E**USEBIUS fpeaks of (*m*) Alcibiades and Theodotus, as joined with Montanus from the beginning. But the perfons moft frequently mentioned as his affiftants and propheteffes, are two women, named Prifca or Prifcilla, and Maximilla. They are faid to (*n*) have been married women, and to have forfaken their hufbands. Poffibly they did not mind houfhould affairs fo much as they fhould have done. And

(*b*) Abfcifum vocat et femivirum, quia Montanus erat ex Phrygia, ubi Cybeles facerdotes castrari solebant.

(*i*) Ο αθλιωτατος, και πασης ακαθαρειας και ασελγειας πεπληρωμενος. κ. λ. Cat. 16. n. 8. p. 247. B.

(*k*) . . . μοιχευε δε φανεως εαλωκοτος. If. L. 1. ep. 243.

(*l*) See Vol. 3. chap. 33. note. 4. p. 60.

(*m*) L. 5. cap. 3. p. 168. A.

(*n*) Δεικνυμεν ην αυτας πρωτας τας προφητιδας ταυτας, αφ η τε πνευματος επληρωθησαν, τες ανδρας καταλιπσας. Apollon. ap. Euf. L. 5. c. 18. p. 184. D.

And when once they thought themselves inspired, and that SECT. 5.
 God had qualified them for extensive service to his church;
 they might reckon themselves to be reasonably excused from
 low and private concerns: still, however, without violating
 the regard, expected from them by their husbands. By
 Jerom they are said to have been (o) rich and honourable
 women, and by their wealth to have greatly promoted the
 interest of the sect. But whether he may be relied upon,
 I cannot certainly say. Cave calls them (p) two profligate
 women. But, surely, such language might have been spared.
 Scarce any of the antients have expressed themselves so harshly
 in speaking of those deluded women. And if they had,
 they need not be followed, unless they appear to speak with
 reason.

Though Priscilla and Maximilla were the most remarkable
 supports of Montanus, there were other women supposed by
 them to have the gift of prophecy. Tertullian (q) speaks
 of a sister's converse with God and angels in strong terms.

Some of the prophecies of these persons were published
 in writing. Epiphanius quotes a book called (r) the Pro-
 phesy of Montanus: and several times (s) cites his words:

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as

(o) Montanus, immundi spiritus prædi-
 cator, multas ecclesias per Priscam et Max-
 imillam, nobiles et opulentas feminas, pri-
 mum autem corruptit, deinde hæresi polluit.
Ad. Ctesiph. T. 4. p. 477.

(p) Adscitisque sibi duabus profligatissi-
 mis mulierculis, Priscilla et Maximilla, &c.
Cav. H. L. in Montan. An. 172.

(q) Est hodie soror apud nos revelatio-
 num charismata sortita, quas in ecclesia
 inter dominica solemnia per ecclasin in spi-

ritu patitur: conversatur cum angelis, ali-
 quando etiam cum Domino, et videt et
 audit sacramenta, et quorundam corda
 dignoscit, et medicinas desiderantibus sub-
 mittit, &c. *De Anima. cap. 9. p. 311. A.*
 265.

(r) Λεγει γαρ εν τω εκκλησια βιβλίου περὶ Μοντανου.
H. 48. n. 10. p. 411. C.

(s) *Ibid. n. 4. p. 405. D. n. 11. p. 412.*
 413.

SECT. 5. as also (*t*) words of Maximilla. And Theodoret (*u*) speaks of the prophecies of Priscilla and Maximilla. And it may be argued from Tertullian, that oftentimes (*x*) their visions, which they had in time of public worship, were taken down in writing after the assembly was over, by some of the principal of the congregation.

It is observable, (which is related by several ancient writers) (*y*) that these people boasted not of any prophecies among them after Montanus, and his two women. Nay, Maximilla declared, (*z*) there would be none after her. For certain Montanus, and the two forementioned prophetesses, were the pillars of the sect.

SECT. VI. *Of his Pretensions and Manner of Prophecy.*

SECT. 6. **M**ONTANUS's pretensions are differently represented by antient Catholic writers. Some say, he was called by (*a*) himself and his followers, the Paraclete, or Holy Spirit. Epiphanius in one place chargeth him with saying: I (*b*) am not an angel, nor an ambassador, but the Lord God the

(*t*) *Ibid.* n. 2. p. 403. *D.* n. 12. p. 413.

(*u*) *Hær. Fab.* L. 3. c. 2.

(*x*) *Post transacta solemnia, dimissa plebe, quo usu solet nobis renuntiare quæ viderit: (nam et diligentissime digeruntur, ut etiam probentur:) inter cetera, inquit, ostensa est mihi anima corporaliter, &c. De Anim. cap. 9. p. 311. B. 265.*

(*y*) Πως ηκετι μετα μοντανου και πρισκιλλαν και μαξιμιλλαν εχουσι προφητας; *Epiph. H.* 48. n. 2. p. 403. *B.*

(*z*) *Epiph. Ibid. D. Vide et p. 404. A.*

(*a*) Τον μεν παρακλητον μοντανου, τας δ' εξ αυτης γυναικας, πρισκιλλαν και μαξιμιλλαν, ως αν τη μοντανου προφητιδας γεγονυιας αυχεντες. *Euseb. L.* 5. c. 14. p. 178. *C.*

Ετολμησεν ειπεν εαυτον ειναι το αγιον πνευμα. *Cyr. Cat.* 16. No. 8. p. 247.

Ουτος ειςρηκεις ερωτι φιλαρχιας παρακλητον εαυτον προσηγχευσε. *Theod. H. F. L.* 3. c. 2. *B.*

(*b*) Παλιν φησι μοντανος· οτι ετε αγγελος, ετε πρεσβυς, αλλα εγω κυριος ο θεος πατρη ηλθον. *Ibid. n.* 11. p. 413. *B.*

the Father. Augustin, who in the first part of his article, says, the (c) Cataphrygians respected Montanus as the Paraclete, and Priscilla and Maximilla as Prophetesses, afterwards adds: they (d) supposed the Lord's promise concerning the Holy Spirit to have been rather fulfilled in them, than in the Apostles. And to the like purpose (e) Philaster. St. Jerom sometimes say, they (f) believed the Holy Spirit to have been in Montanus. The truth seems to be, that they supposed God to have made some additional revelations by Montanus, for the perfection of believers. For they did not deny that the Holy Ghost had descended upon the Apostles on the famous day of Pentecost: but they supposed, that some things were left to be revealed, when, and to whom God pleased. But, then, they could not think this inspiration of Montanus equal to that of the Apostles, as it did not relate to the great articles of faith, but chiefly to matters of external order and discipline. (g)

Tertullian heartily embraced this new prophecy. But, then, he says: We (h) preach no other God, nor other Christ.

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Nor

(c) Montanus tanquam Paracletus, et duæ prophetissæ ipsius Prisca et Maximilla. *H. 26. in.*

(d) Adventum spiritus sancti a Domino promissum, in se potius quam in Apostolis fuisse asserunt.

(e) Addunt etiam, plenitudinem sancti spiritus non per Apostolos Christo dante fuisse concessam, sed per illos suos pseudo prophetas æstimant impartitam. *Phil. H. 49. Cataphry. p. 102. 103. 13.*

(f) Sicut aliæ hæreses Paracletum in Montanum venisse contendunt, et Manichæum ipsum dicunt esse Paracletum. *Adv. Vigil. T. 4. p. 285. in.*

. . . ad extremum per spiritum sanctum in Montanum, Priscam et Maximillam insanas feminas descendisse, et plenitudinem, quam non habuerit Paulus, . . . habuisse Montanum. *Ad. Marcell. Ibid. p. 65.*

(g) See note (i) in the following page.

(h) Hi Paracleto controversiam faciunt. Propter hoc novæ prophetiæ recusantur: non quod alium Deum prædicant Montanus et Priscilla et Maximilla: nec quod Jesum Christum solvant: nec quod aliquam fidei aut spei regulam evertant: sed quod plane doceant, sæpius jejunare quam nubere. *De Jejun. cap. 1. p. 701. C.*

SECT. 6. Nor have we any other rule of faith: though we are more for fasting, and less for marrying, than other people. In another place, *(i)* and in another work, he speaks to the like purpose. And he says again, it *(k)* was impossible that any new revelation should contradict the doctrine of Christ. I put some other passages of his in the *(l)* margin, shewing his respect for this manifestation, and his persuasion, that spiritual gifts were in an uncommon degree bestowed upon Montanus and his friends: and yet asserting that the *(m)* state of things among them had its foundation in the scriptures of the Old and New Testament.

The manner of delivering their pretended prophecies was disagreeable. They seem to have been for a time deprived of the exercise of reason: *(n)* which induced several Catholic writers, in their arguments with them to shew, that neither the prophets of the Old or New Testament, prophesied in extasy. The thing is taken notice of by *(o)* Athanasius, and by *(p)* Jerom several times. Epiphanius has a long argument upon

(i) Paracletus autem multa habens edocere, quæ in illum distulit Dominus, secundum præfinitionem, ipsum primo Christum contestabitur, qualem credimus, cum toto ordine Creatoris: et ipsum glorificabit, et de ipso commemorabit. Et sic de principali regula agnitus, illa multa quæ sunt disciplinarum revelabit. *De Monog. cap. 2. p. 673. 674.*

(k) An capiat, Paracletum aliquid tale docuisse, quod aut novum deputari possit adversus Catholicam traditionem, aut onerosum adversus sarcinam Domini? *Ibid. cap. 2. p. 673. D.*

(l) Penes nos autem, quos spirituales merito dici facit agnitio spiritualium charisma-

tum. . . . Sed Psychicis non recipientibus spiritum, ea quæ sunt spiritus non placent. *De Monog. cap. 1. p. 673. B.*

Vide eund. cap. 14. p. 686.

(m) Nostorum bonorum status jam mergitur. Christianæ pudicitiae ratio concutitur. Quæ omnia de cælo trahit, et disciplinam per instrumentum prædicationis, et censuram per judicia ex utroque Testamento. *De Pud. cap. 1. p. 715. C.*

(n) Πνευματοφορηταὶ τε καὶ ἀφηνδως ἐν κατ'οχρητικῇ καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἀσπίδα γενομένοι, ἐνθυσιασται. *Ap. Euf. L. 5. cap. 16. p. 180. A. B. Vide et cap. 17. p. 183. B. C.*

(o) N. 3. *contr. Ar. n. 47. p. 596. C.*

(p) Neque vero, ut Montanus cum infanis

upon this (*q*) point. Tertullian, who went into all the peculiar sentiments of this new party, calls prophecy (*r*) a spiritual violence. SECT. 6.

SECT. VII. *Of the Opinions of the Montanists.*

AS for the resurrection of the body, and other great articles of the Christian religion, all writers of heresies bear testimony to their (*s*) belief of them. And, as Tertullian observes, they (*t*) are not weakened, but established, confirmed, and illustrated by these overflowings of the spirit. SECT. 7.

They are however charged by some with not holding the right doctrine concerning the Trinity. Epiphanius says, that (*u*) concerning the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, they agree

sanis feminis somniat, Prophetæ in extasi sunt locuti, ut nescirent quid loquerentur: et quum alios erudirent, ipsi ignorarent quid dicerent. *Prol. in Is. T. 3. p. 3.*

Non enim loquitur, ut Montanus et Prisca Maximillaque delirant: sed quod prophetat, liber est visionis intelligentis universa quæ loquitur. *Prol. in Naum. p. 1559.*

Vide eund. in Is. cap. 1. p. 7. ini. et c. 28. p. 236. ini.

(*q*) *H. 48. n. 3. . . 8.*

(*r*) Hoc postea obvenit, quum in illum (Adamum) Deus dementiam immisit, spiritalem vim, qua constat prophetia. *De Anim. cap. 21. p. 324. A.*

(*s*) Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum confitentur: carnis resurrectionem ex-

pectant: quæ et Catholica Ecclesia prædicat. *Philast. cap. 49. p. 101. Vide Epiph. H. 48. p. 402.*

(*t*) De quibus luculenter et Paracletus per prophetidem Priscam. *De Res. Carn. cap. 11. p. 386. B.*

Idcirco jam omnes retro ambigui, et quas volunt parabolas, aperta atque perspicua totius sacramenti prædicatione discussit, per novam prophetiam de Paraclete inundantem: cujus si hauseris fontes, nullam poteris sistere doctrinam. . . Resurrectionem quoque carnis usquequaque potando, refrigeraberis. *Ibid. cap. ult. p. 430. A.*

(*u*) Περὶ δὲ πατρὸς, καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος ὁμοῦως φησὶν ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. *H. 48. n. 1. p. 402. D.*

SECT. 7. agree with the Catholic church. Theodoret's account is, that (x) Montanus made no innovation in the doctrine of the Trinity, or the creation of the world: but afterwards (y) some of his followers denied the hypostases, and agreed with Sabellius, and Noetus. The author of the Additions to Tertullian's book of Prescriptions says, there (z) were two parties among them, who had different sentiments about the Trinity. It must be reckoned probable, that some of them were in the Sabellian or Unitarian scheme. For it is affirmed by many writers of antiquity: by (a) Jerom, and (b) Ifidore of Pelusium, as well as the others just mentioned.

(x) Τον δὲ περὶ τῆς θείας τριάδος ἢ ἐλυμνη-
νατο λόγον· καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς κόσμου δημιουργίας
ὁμοίως ἡμῖν ἐδογματίσιν. *T. 4. L. 3. cap. 2.*
p. 227. B.

(y) Τινες δὲ αὐτῶν τὰς τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις τῆς
θεότητος σαβελλίῳ παραπλησίως κηρύτταντο, τὸν
αὐτὸν εἶναι λεγόντες καὶ πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν καὶ ἅγιον
πνεῦμα παραπλησίως τῷ αἰσιανῷ νοητῷ. *Ibid.*
p. 227. C.

(z) Accesserunt alii hæretici, qui dicun-
tur secundum Phrygas. Sed horum non
una doctrina est. Sunt enim, qui κατὰ
Proclum dicuntur. Sunt qui secundum
Æschinem pronuntiantur. . . . Privatam

autem blasphemiam illi qui sunt sunt κατὰ
Æschinem hanc habent: qua adjiciunt
etiam hoc, ut dicant Christum ipsum esse
Filium et Patrem. *De Pr. Hær. cap. 52.*
p. 254. C.

(a) Primum, in fidei regula discrepamus.
Nos Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum
in sua unaquaque persona ponimus, licet
substantia copulemus. Illi Sabellii dogma
sectantes Trinitatem in unius personæ an-
gustias cogunt. *Adv. Marcell. T. 4. p.*
64.

(b) *Vide Ifid. L. 1. Ep. 67.*

SECT. VIII. *Of the Peculiarities in their Manners, Discipline and Doctrine.*

WE now proceed to observe their peculiarities. But SECT. 8.
after all, I suppose they esteemed themselves good Catholic Christians. For though Tertullian scornfully calls the Catholics sometimes animal and the like; he does not reckon them heretics, (c) but distinguishes them from such people.

In general, we may say, they made a profession of much strictness. (d) And therefore are not seldom mentioned together with the Novatians, and called Puritans.

One thing, in which they innovated, was condemning second marriages in all. (e) Whoever married a second time, though his first wife was dead, was excommunicated by

(c) Hæretici nuptias auferunt. Psychici ingerunt. Illi nec semel: isti non semel nubens. *De Monog. cap. 1. p. 673.*

(d) Montanus et qui Novati schisma sequuntur, nomen sibi munditiæ præsumere, putantes secunda matrimonia ab ecclesiæ communione prohibenda. *Hieron. ad Tit. T. 4. P. 1. p. 414. F.*

Rigidi autem sunt, non quo et ipsi peiora non peccent, &c. *Ad. Marcell. T. 4. p. 65. sub. in.*

Verum ne Montanus et Novatus hic rideant, qui contendunt, non posse renovari per pœnitentiam eos qui crucifixerunt sibi Filium Dei. *Id. Adv. Jovin. L. 2. T. 4. p. 195. M.*

Faceſſat itaque Novatus, errantibus manus non porrigens: Montanus cum infanis feminis proſternatur, jacentes in barathrum

præcipitans, ne leventur. *Ad. Pamm. Ep. 38. al. 61. p. 307. in. Vide et ad Ocean. Ep. 84. p. 659. infr. M.*

(e) Nos secundas nuptias non tam appetimus, quam concedimus, Paulo jubente, ut viduæ adolescentulæ nubant. Illi in tantum putant scelerata conjugia iterata, ut quicumque hoc fecerit, adulter habeatur. *Hieron. Ibid. p. 64.*

Εκβαλλει γαρ τον δευτερω γαμω συναφθεντα, και αναγκαζει. . . μη δευτερω γαμω συναπτεισθαι. *Epiph. Ib. n. 9. p. 410. D.*

Secundas nuptias pro fornicationibus habent. Et ideo dicunt eas permisſiſſe Apoſtolum Paulum, quia ex parte ſciebat. *Aug. H. 26.*

Vide Theodot. H. F. L. 3. cap. 2. vol. 4. p. 227. B.

SECT. 8. by them. All ancient writers agree in this account of them. And it appears in Tertullian's (*f*) writings, to be a part of discipline which they constantly inculcated.

They had likewise many rules about fasting and abstinence.

Apollonius, in Eusebius, (*g*) blames Montanus for imposing laws of fasting. Theodoret says, that (*h*) Montanus appointed new fasts, beside those which were customary in the church. A passage of Tertullian, (*i*) placed in the margin, will confirm this account.

The Catholics said, that such things ought not to be *imposed* upon men. If any thought fit to mortify themselves, they were at liberty so to do. But things, not commanded by Christ and his Apostles, were not to be enjoined as necessary. So some argued, as appears from (*k*) Tertullian.

Jerom

(*f*) Sed et si nubendi jam modus ponitur, quem quidem apud nos spiritalis ratio, Paraclete auctore, defendit, unum in fide matrimonium præscribens. *Adv. Marc. L. 1. cap. 30. p. 452. B.*

Unum matrimonium novimus, sicut unum Deum. *De Monog. c. 1. p. 673. B. Vide eund. passim.*

(*g*) Ο νηστίας νομοθετησας. *Lib. 5. c. 18. p. 184. C.*

(*h*) Και νηστίας καινας πασα το της εκκλησιας επισημαγεν εθος. *Ib. p. 227. B.*

(*i*) Arguunt nos, quod jejunia propria custodiamus, quod stationes plerumque in vesperam producamus, quod etiam xerophagias observemus, siccantes cibum ab omni carne, et omni jurulentia, et vividioribus

quibusque pomis, ne quid vinositatis vel edamus, vel potemus, lavacri quoque abstinentiam, congruentem arido victui. *De Jejun. c. 1. p. 701. B. C.*

(*k*) Certe in Evangelio illos dies jejuniis determinatos, putant, in quibus ablatus est sponsus: et hos esse jam solos legitimos jejuniorum Christianorum, abolitis legalibus et prophetis vetustatibus. . . Itaque de cetero differenter jejunandum ex arbitrio, non ex imperio novæ disciplinæ, pro temporibus et causis uniuscujusque. Sic et Apostolos observasse, nullum aliud imponentes jugum certorum et in commune omnibus obeundorum jejuniorum, &c. *De Jejun. cap. 2. p. 702. B.*

Jerom says, they (*l*) kept three Lents in the year. Perhaps this was the practise of some of the sect in later times. For, as it is not mentioned by Tertullian, it may be reckoned not to have been enjoined by Montanus. In another place Jerom shews, how the Montanists, and some others (*m*) likewise, argued from our Lord's words in Matt. ix. 15.

They did not allow the church the power to forgive great sins after baptism: or that (*n*) they who so fell should ever after be admitted again to full communion, (*o*) though they repented. Nay Tertullian seems to say, that (*p*) there is no salvation or forgiveness for such persons: and that Christ (*q*) does not intercede for them.

They were also against flight in persecution, (*r*) and against giving money to redeem themselves from ill usage of per-

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cutors,

(*l*) Nos unam quadragesimam secundum traditionem Apostolorum, toto nobis orbe congruo, jejunamus. Illi tres in anno faciunt quadragesimas, quasi tres passi sint salutores. *Ad. Marcell. T. 4. p. 65.*

(*m*) Nonnulli putant idcirco post dies quadraginta passionis, jejunia debere committi: licet statim dies Pentecostes et spiritus sanctus adveniens indicent nobis festivitatem. Et ex hujus occasione testimonii Montanus, Prisca et Maximilla, etiam post Pentecosten faciunt quadragesimam: quod ablato sponso filii sponsi debeant jejunare, &c. *In Matt. cap. 9. tom. 4. p. 31. M.*

(*n*) Illi ad omne pene delictum Ecclesiae obferant fores. *Hieron. ad Mar. p. 65.*

(*o*) Hoc qui ab Apostolis didicit, et cum Apostolis docuit, numquam mœcho et fornicatori secundam pœnitentiam promissam ab Apostolis norat. *De Pudic. cap. 20. p. 741. D.*

(*p*) Audio etiam edictum esse propositum, quidem peremptorium: Pontifex scilicet

Maximus, quod est episcopus episcoporum, edicit: Ego et mœchiæ et fornicationis delicta, pœnitentia functis dimitto. Absit, absit a sponsa Christi tale præconium. *De Pud. c. 1. p. 715. C. D.*

(*q*) In negotiis, in officiis, in quæstu, in victu, in visu, in auditu, quanta tentamur; ut si nulla sit venia istorum, nemini salus competat. Horum ergo erit venia per exortorem Patris Christum. Sunt autem et contraria istis, ut graviora et exitiosa, quæ veniam non capiant, homicidium, idololatria, fraus, negatio, blasphemia, utique et mœchia et fornicatio, et si qua alia violatio templi Dei. Horum ultro exortor non erit Christus. Hæc non admittet omnino, qui natus ex Deo fuerit: non futurus Dei filius, si admiserit. *De Pud. c. 19. p. 741. A.*

(*r*) Et ideo Paracletus, necessarius deductor omnium veritatum, exhortator omnium tolerantiarum: quem qui receperunt, neque fugere prosecutionem, neque redimere noverunt. *De Fuga in Perf. c. 14. p. 700. C.*

SECT. 8. cutors, or to procure any mitigation of affliction from them. They moreover met together openly, and in great numbers, in (*f*) a way that was reckoned indiscreet by many other Christians. Tertullian wrote a book upon this subject, which may be consulted. Which leads us to observe, that these (*t*) people had their separate assemblies, in which every part of Christian worship was performed. However, according to Jerom, (*u*) the order of their hierarchy was somewhat different from that of most others.

When Asterius Urbanus wrote, about 232, they (*x*) boasted of their having had many martyrs: which must be understood not for Montanism, but for Christianity.

They were Millenarians, as appears from (*y*) Tertullian.

(*f*) Dicitur enim, quoniam incondite convenimus et complures concurrimus in ecclesiam, quærimur a Nationibus, et timemus, ne turbentur Nationes. *Ib. c. 3. p. 691. D.*

(*t*) Est hodie soror apud nos, revelationum charismata sortita, quas in ecclesia inter dominica solemnia per ecstasin in spiritu patitur. . . Jam vero, prout scripturæ leguntur, aut psalmi canuntur, aut adloquutiones proferuntur, aut petitiones delegantur, ita inde materiæ visionibus subministrantur. Forte nescio quid de anima differueramus, cum ea soror in spiritu esset. *De Anim. cap. 9. p. 311. A. B.*

(*u*) Apud nos apostolorum locum episcopi tenent: apud eos episcopus tertius est.

Habent enim primos de Pepusa Phrygiæ patriarchas: secundos, quos appellant Cenonas. Atque ita in tertium, id est, pene ultimum locum Episcopi devolvuntur. *Ad. Marc. p. 65.*

(*x*) Λεγοντες, πολλας εχειν μαρτυρας. *Ap. Euf. L. 5. c. 16. p. 182. D.*

(*y*) Nam et confitemur in terra nobis regnum repromissum: sed ante cœlum, sed alio statu: ut pote post resurrectionem in mille annos, in civitate divini operis Hierusalem cœlo delata . . . Hanc et Ezechiel novit, et Apostolus Joannes vidit, et qui apud fidem nostram est, novæ prophetiæ sermo testatur. *Adv. Marc. L. 3. c. 24. p. 499. B. C.*

SECT. IX. *Of their Mysteries, and Calumnies cast upon them on this Account.*

AFTER all these things that have been already mentioned, we must not omit the accounts of their mysteries. For by several writers of the fourth, and fifth centuries, we are informed, that it was reported of them, that they (x) took a child of about a year old, and pricked him all over with needles. The extracted blood they mixed with flour of wheat. And of this they made their (a) sacramental bread. If the child survived, he was looked upon as a high-priest: if he died, he was reputed a martyr. I place at the bottom of the page, passages of many authors relating to this matter: of (b) St. Cyril of Jerusalem, (c) Isidore of Pelusium, (d) Epiphanius, (e) Philaster, (f) Augustin, (g) Theodoret, &c. (h) Jerom.

SECT. 9.

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Upon

(x) See Mr. Robert Turner, of the Calumnies cast upon the Primitive Christians; p. 52. 53.

(a) Augustin, Tom. 6. Hær. 26. p. 5. c. 3. ad quod V. D. Vene. 1570. See the passage note (f) in this page.

(b) Αυταρχες γαρ τετο δια δυσσημων ειπειν, των παρυσων γυναικων σεμνοτητος ενεκα. . . Και αθλιωτατα παιδια γυναικων μικρα σφαττων, και κατακοπτων εις αθεμιτον ερωσιν, προφασει των καλυμενων παρ αυτοις μυστηριων. Cat. 16. n. 8. p. 247.

(c) Μαγγανειαις γαρ και παιδοκτονιαις, μοιχειαις τε και ιδωλολατρειαις συντιθεται. κ. λ. Isid. L. 1. Ep. 242.

(d) Δεινον τε και αθεμιτον εργον φασι γινεσθαι. Παιδα γαρ κομιδη νηπιον κατα εορτην τινα δι ολη τη σωματος κατακεντωντες ραφισι χαλκαις, το αιμα αυτη προσποριζονται εαυτοις, εις επιτηδευσιν δηθεν θυσιας. H. 48. n. 14. p. 416. C. Vide et n. 15. p. 417. C.

(e) Ubi et mysterium Cynicorum, (Scenorum) et infantis execranda celebratur impietas. Dicunt enim eos de infantis sanguine in Pascha miscere in suum sacrificium. H. 49. p. 103. 104.

(f) Sacramenta perhibentur habere funesta. Nam de infantis anniculi sanguine, quem de toto ejus corpore minutis punctiōnum vulneribus exterquent, quasi Eucharistiam suam conficere perhibentur, miscentes eum farinæ, panemque inde facientes. Qui puer si mortuus fuerit, habetur apud eos pro martyre: si autem vixerit, pro magno sacerdote. H. 26. Vide et H. 27.

(g) Περί δε των μυστηριων τινες μεν θειλλασι τινα. εκεινοι δε η συνομολογησιν, αλλα σικοφαντιαν την κατηγοριαν καλουν. T. 4. p. 227. C.

(h) Prætermitto scelerata mysteria, quæ dicuntur de lactente puero, et de victuro martyre confarrata. Malo, inquam, non credere. Sit falsum omne quod sanguinis est. Ad M. p. 65.

Upon the passages of these authors it is easy to make some remarks. Augustin and some others seem to have supposed this to have been a common part of their mysteries, or Eucharist. But Epiphanius and Philaster speak, as if it belonged only to an annual festival, about Easter. Cyril imputes lewdness as well as cruelty to their mysteries. And supposeth, that they not only killed, but likewise eat infants: unless this last may be understood of their blood only, mixed with flour. Isidore of Pelusium chargeth them with magic, killing of infants, lewdness, and idolatry. He and Cyril of Jerusalem are the only writers, who speak positively. Epiphanius, Philaster, and Augustin, express themselves doubtfully, and represent the matter as only report. Theodoret says, there are stories about their mysteries. But they themselves do not allow the truth of them. They say they are false, and nothing but calumnies. Jerom is not inclined to believe the common story, and is willing, he says, to omit the mention of it.

Undoubtedly it was a mere calumny and fiction. If there had been any such things practised by them, it would not have been omitted by Eusebius, and all his authors. Nor would Tertullian ever have had any concern with them. The commonness and the certain falshood of this story should teach us, not to be ready in receiving accusations against any who are called heretics.

SECT. X. *Of their Testimony to the Scriptures.*

IT still remains, that we observe their testimony to the SECT. 10.
 scriptures.

Philaster expressly says, they (*i*) receive the Law and the Prophets. Epiphanius, in his larger work, that (*k*) they receive all the scriptures, both the Old and the New Testament. In his arguments with them he appeals to the scriptures, as (*l*) of uncontested authority with them. His summary is to this purpose: they (*m*) receive the Old and New Testament. But after the ancient prophets they bring in others, boasting of Montanus, Priscilla, and Maximilla. Theodoret says, that (*n*) Montanus had two women prophetesses, and called their writings prophecies. Afterwards he says, that the (*o*) prophecies of those two women were in greater esteem with the Montanists, than the divine gospel. Which surely must be an aggravation. Caius however, as we may remember, early complained of (*p*) their composing new writings, or scriptures, and placing them in too high authority. Athanasius (*q*) speaks of their respect for Montanus and Maximilla, as extravagant.

Nevertheless,

(*i*) Iſti Prophetas et Legem accipiunt.
 H. 49.

(*k*) Διχονται και αυτοι πασαν γραφην, παλαιαν και νεαν διαθηκην. H. 48. n. 2. p. 402.
 C.

(*l*) Συγκρινοντες γαρ τα παρ αυτων ειρημενα, και κατὰ την παλαιαν διαθηκην και καινην εν αληθεια—δοκιμασωμεν. Ibid. n. 3. p. 404.
 D.

(*m*) Οιτινες παλαιαν και νεαν διαθηκην δεχονται· ιτερος δε προφητας παρεισφερασι μετα της

προφητας, μοντανοι τινα αυχνητις και πριςκιλλαι και μαξιμιλλαν. P. 396.

(*n*) Και τα τετων συγγραμματα προφητικας προσηγορευσι εις ελως. P. 217. B.

(*o*) Αι δε της πριςκιλλης και μαξιμιλλης προφηταις υπερ το θειον ευαγγελιον τιτιμνηται παρ αυτοις. Ib. C.

(*p*) See Vol. 3. ch. 32. p. 24, 25.

(*q*) Και ωσπερ εκεινοι μαξιμιλλαν και μοντανον, ουτως ουτοι αντι τα χριςτ κωςαντιον δεσποτα επιγραφονται. De Synod. n. 4. p. 719.

SECT. 10.

Nevertheless, there can be no good reason to doubt, that they received all the scriptures of the Old and New Testament, which other Christians did, and with like respect. Tertullian, divers of whose remaining works were writ, after he was a Montanist, bears witness to it. Our collections from him, made formerly, (r) and some passages of his transcribed in this article, are sufficient to satisfy every inquisitive person. From the same writer it appears that they received, particularly, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Revelation. Passages of later authors shew, that the sect had not altered their mind, but continued to receive the (s) book of the Acts, St. (t) John's gospel, and (u) Revelation.

(r) *Article Tertullian, P. 2. V. 2. p. 576, prophetam Agabum reperiri. Hier. ad Marc. T. 4. p. 64.*
&c. and the article Marcion of this work, ch.

10. sec. 30. to the end. Or 58. to the end.

(s) *Quod si voluerint respondere, et Philippi deinceps quatuor filias prophetasse, et*

(t) *Testimonia de Joannis Evangelio congregata tibi quidam Montani sectator ingessit. Id. Ibid.*

(u) *Vide Epiph. H. 48. n. 10. p. 411.*



C H A P. XX.

*Of P R A X E A S.*S E C T. I. *Of the Time in which he lived.*

BASNAGE speaks of Praxeas (*a*) at the year 194. SECT. 1.
 Baronius under the year (*b*) 196. As doth Spondanus (*c*) in his abridgement. Tillemont says, he (*d*) appeared not till after the two Theodots, the most antient of which is he of Byzantium, who first published his heresy under Victor, or a little before. And the other Theodotus was his disciple. So that Praxeas may have appeared also under Victor. And he must be placed under him, or his successor Zephyrinus. For he had appeared before Tertullian became a Montanist, which at the latest happened in the year of Christ, 207.

(*a*) *Annales Pol. Ecc. An.* 194. p. 206.(*b*) *Ad An.* 196.(*c*) *Ad An.* 196. n. 7. p. 169.(*d*) *Mem. Ec. T.* 3. *Praxeas*, in.

SECT. II. *What antient Writers speak of him, and by whom he is omitted.*

SECT. 2. **T**HERE is no notice taken of Praxeas by Irenæus or Clement of Alexandria. He is not in Cyril of Jerusalem, nor in Epiphanius, or Theodoret. Nor has Eusebius mentioned him. Philaster and Augustin have no distinct articles for Praxeas: but speak of him in their chapters of Sabellius. He is mentioned several times among other heretics by (e) Optatus of Milevi. He is likewise spoken of by (f) Jerom, and (g) Pacian. Tertullian calls him a late (h) heretic. He certainly appeared not till after the Montanists. Agreeable to this the author (i) of the Additions to Tertullian's Prescriptions places him last of all after the Montanists, and after the two Theodots. But it is Tertullian himself, who will afford us the best assistance for tracing out the history and opinions of Praxeas: he having written a treatise against him, which is still in being.

(e) Marcion, Praxeas, Sabellius, Valentinus, et cæteri. *Lib. 1. c. 9. p. 8. D. Du Pin. p. 37. Albaspinæi Paris, 1631.*

Apud Praxeam Patripassianum qui ex toto filium negat et patrem passum esse contendit. *Ibid. L. 5. c. 1. p. 80. Du Pin, p. 83. Albaspinæi. Vide etiam. Ibid. L. 4. c. 5. p. 74. vel. 79.*

(f) Cum Ario adulteria committo. Feci et antea cum Praxea, cum Ebione, cum Cerintho, Novato. *Adv. Lucif. T. 4. p. 305. M.*

(g) Theodotus quoque et Praxeas vestros aliquando docuere. *Pac. Ep. 1. ap. Bib. 88. T. 4. p. 305. G.*

(h) Hanc regulam ab initio Evangelii decurrisse etiam ante priores quosque hæreticos, nedum ante Praxean hesternum, probabit tam ipsa posteritas omnium hæreticorum, quam ipsa novellitas Praxeæ hesterni. *Adv. Praxean, c. 2. p. 635. B. p. 494. 46. Fran. 1597.*

(i) *De Præf. ad. Hær. cap. 51. ad finem p. 218. 12.*

S E C T.

S E C T. III. *Of his Country.*

PHILASTER (*k*) and (*l*) Augustin say, that Praxeas SECT. 3.
lived in Africa. And that he was some while there,
appears from Tertullian: though he says, Praxeas came from
Asia to Rome. Beausobre therefore concludes that he was
a Presbyter of Asia. (*m*) However, I do not think, that
these expressions can determine that he was of that country.
The little notice that is taken of him by Greek writers,
and the frequent mention of him in Latin authors, may lead
us to think he was a Latin, rather than a Greek or Asiatic.

The series of Tertullian's narration leads us to think, that (*n*)
Praxeas having been in Asia, where he saw the pretended pro-
phesies of Montanus and his women, when he came to Rome,
he informed the Bishop of Rome concerning them. And

3 G

gave

(*k*) Unde et Sabelliani postea sunt ap-
pellati, qui et Patripassiani et Praxeani a
Praxea, et Hermogeniani ab Hermogene,
qui fuerunt in Africa. *Cap. 54. p. 108.*

(*l*) Nam et Praxeanos eos a Praxea qui-
dam vocant: et Hermogeniani vocari ab
Hermogene potuerunt: qui Praxeas et Her-
mogenes, eadem sentientes, in Africa fuisse
dicuntur. *H. 41.*

(*m*) *Hif. Manich. T. 1. p. 533.*

(*n*) Nam iste primus ex Asia hoc genus
perversitatis intulit Romæ, homo et alias
inquietus, insuper de jactatione martyrii in-
flatus, ob solum et simplex et breve carceris
tædium . . . Nam idem tunc episcopum
Romanum, agnoscentem jam prophetias
Montani Priscæ Maximillæ . . . et ex ea
agnitione pacem ecclesiis Asiæ et Phrygiæ

inferentem, falsa de ipsis prophetis et eccle-
siis eorum adseverando, . . . coegit literas
paci revocare jam emissas . . . Ita duo ne-
gotia diaboli Praxeas Romæ procuravit, pro-
phetiam expulit, et hæresim intulit. . . .
Fruticaverant avenæ Praxeanæ, hic quoque
superfeminatæ, dormientibus multis in sim-
plicitate doctrinæ: traductæ dehinc per
quem Deus voluit, etiam evulsæ videbantur.
Denique caverat pristinum doctor de emen-
datione sua. Et manet chirographum apud
Psychicos, apud quos tunc res gesta est. Exinde
silentium. Et nos quidem postea agnitio
Paracleti atque defensio, disjuncta a Psychicis.
Avenæ vero illæ utique tunc semen excusse-
rant. Ita aliquandiu per hypocrisin subdola
vivacitate latitavit, et nunc denuo erupit.
Adv. Pr. cap. 1. p. 634. G. D. p. 494. 20.

SECT. 3. gave him such an account of them, as satisfied him, they had no real inspiration, though before he had been inclined to countenance them. Some time after this Praxeas came over into Africa, perhaps to Carthage, where Tertullian was acquainted with him.

SECT. IV. *He suffered in the Cause of Christ.*

SECT. 4. PRAXEAS had suffered imprisonment, if not other afflictions, during the rage of some persecution, for the sake of the Christian religion. After which, upon his coming to Rome, he openly professed his opinions concerning Christ, which were not approved of by all. This he did particularly in Africa, where he made many converts.

SECT. V. *Once confuted and signed a Recantation, but afterwards professed again his former Principles.*

SECT. 5. A CERTAIN person had a dispute with him there upon that head, and had such an advantage over him, that he owned himself confuted: and signed a recantation, which was in being among the Catholics, when Tertullian wrote against him. The disputant, who had that advantage was, very probably, Tertullian himself, though from a principle of modesty, he does not say so expressly. As that recantation was lodged with the Catholics, it is fairly concluded, that Tertullian was at that time among them. Indeed he expressly says he was, and that it was his afterwards taking upon

upon himself to defend the Montanists principles, which was the cause of the separation. What induced Praxeas to sign such a recantation, is not certain, whether it was real conviction or some other consideration. But as he afterwards maintained again the same doctrine, it gave occasion for people to say, it was not sincere. SECT. 5.

SECT. VI. *A believer in Baptism, and the general Articles of the Christian Faith.*

I NEED not particularly shew, that Praxeas and his followers practised (o) baptism, and believed the general articles of religion, as other Christians did. I shall only observe what is said of those opinions of his, which were disliked by some, and then speak of his testimony to the scriptures. SECT. 6.

And I immediately place at the bottom of the page the (p) concluding article of the Additions to Tertullian's book of Prescriptions.

(o) Et quia dixisti, et aquam esse mendacem, etiam hoc discere, ubi eam (f. veram) poteris invenire: Apud Praxeam, Patripassianum, qui ex toto Filium negat, et Patrem passum esse contendit? *Optat. L. 5. c. 1. p. 80.*

(p) Sed post hos omnes etiam Praxeas quidam hæresim introduxit, quam Victori-

nus corroborare curavit. Hic Deum Patrem omnipotentem Jesum Christum esse dicit: Hunc crucifixum passumque contendit et Mortuum. Præterea seipsum sibi sedere ad dexteram suam, cum profana et sacrilega temeritate proponit. *Cap. 53. p. 255. 218. 12.*

S E C T. VII. *A strenuous Assertor of the
Divine Unity.*

SECT. 7. **H**E asserted the unity of God, and (*q*) denied a real Trinity: as Tertullian says at the beginning of his treatise against him. Again, he (*r*) held the Jewish doctrine, denying the distinct personality of the Son and Spirit. He contended (*s*) that by the word was to be understood the wisdom, the will, the power, the voice or command of God: not a distinct personal substance, which would be introducing two Gods.

Praxeas moreover said, that (*t*) the man Jesus was the son of God, and born of the Virgin, and that (*u*) the Father dwelt

(*q*) Vane diabolus æmulatus est veritatem . . . Unicum Dominum vindicat Omnipotentem mundi conditorem, ut et de unico hæresim faciat. Ipsum dicit Patrem descendisse in virginem, ipsum ex ea natum, ipsum passum, denique ipsum esse Jesum Christum. *Contr. Pr. c. 1. p. 634. A. 498. 8.*

Paracletum fugavit, et Patrem crucifixit. *Ib. D. p. 494. 28.*

(*r*) Ceterum, Judaicæ fidei ista res, sic unum Deum credere, ut Filium ei adnumerare nobis, et post Filium Spiritum. Quid enim erit inter nos et illos, nisi differentia ista? Quod opus Evangelii, . . . si non exinde Pater et Filius et Spiritum tres crediti unum Deum sistunt? *Ibid. c. 31. p. 663. D. p. 512. 41.*

Faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram. . . Aut nunquid angelis

loquebatur, ut Judæi interpretantur, quia nec ipsi Filium agnoscunt? *Ibid. c. 12. p. 643. A. p. 500. 3.*

(*s*) Non vis enim eum substantivum habere in re per substantiæ proprietatem, ut res et persona quadam videri possit, et ita capiat secundus a Deo constitutus, duos efficere, Patrem et Filium, Deum et Sermone. Quid est enim, dices, sermo, nisi vox, et sonus oris. *Cap. 7. p. 638. G. D. p. 497. 13.*

(*t*) Ecce inquiunt ab angelo prædicatum est (Luc. 1. 35.) propterea quod nascetur sanctum, vocabitur Filius Dei: Caro itaque nata est, Caro itaque erit Filius Dei. *Ad. Prax. c. 27. p. 659. D. 510. 23.*

(*u*) Ut æque in una persona utrumque distinguant patrem et Filium, dicentes Filium carnem esse, id est hominem, id est Jesum: patrem

dwelt in him; or that there was a union of the Deity, or Divine nature with the man Jesus. Which occasioned Tertullian, and (x) others, to say of him, as also of the Sabellians, that they were Patripassians: and believed the Father to have been born, crucified, and died. That this is said, without good ground, has been shewn (y) formerly. They held Jesus to be a man. And said, that God was with him in a superior and more intimate manner, than with any other man or prophet whatever. But it was not a personal union.

SECT. VIII. *He would not allow that the Father suffered.*

WITH regard to Praxeas, and his followers, we know from Tertullian himself, that he did not say the Father suffered. They only allowed (z) compassion with the Son suffering. I place below a passage of Tertullian on this head (a) at length. And likewise a passage out

patrem autem Spiritum, id est Deum, id est Christum. (*) *Ibid.* p. 659. A. 510. 15.

(*) These two quotations confirm the account formerly given from Beausobre (*See part 2. vol. 4. p. 452.*) of the distinction in the Noetian or Sabellian Theology between the word and the Son of God. The word was the wisdom of God, dwelling in the man Jesus, who was conceived in the womb of the Virgin by the Holy Spirit, and was therefore called the Son of God.

(x) Itaque post tempus Pater natus, et Pater passus est. Ipse Deus, Dominus omnipotens Jesus Christus prædicatur. *Ibid.* c. 2. p. 634. D. p. 494. 37.

(y) *P. 2. vol. 4. c. 41. p. 449. 453.*

(z) Times dicere passibilem, quem dicis compassibilem. *Cap. 29. p. 662. B. 512. 12.*

(a) Ergo nec compassus est Pater Filio: Sicut directam blasphemiam in patrem veriti, diminui eam hoc modo sperant, concedentes jam, patrem et filium duos esse: Filius si quidem patitur, pater vero compatitur. Stulti et in hoc. Quid enim est compati quam cum alio pati? Porro si impassibilis Pater, utique et impassibilis, aut si compassibilis, utique passibilis. *Ad. Prax. c. 29. p. 662. A. 512. 8.*

SECT. 8. out of the Oriental doctrine, (*b*) where a like opinion is ascribed to Theodotus.

They were the more fully persuaded of the truth of this opinion (*c*) of theirs, because they thought it the surest way of maintaining the belief of one only God. For as Tertullian (*d*) informs us, the doctrine of the unity of one God the Father, Praxeas was persuaded must be right: and many others were of the same opinion, fearing the evil or danger of Polytheism. They believed that (*e*) that person who was born of Mary suffered death, and was buried as the gospels relate. For no man ever allowed, that proper Deity suffered. The Catholics, who supposed the son to be incarnate, did not allow the divine nature in Jesus to suffer, as Tertullian himself assures us. (*f*) He in the same place also informs us,

(*b*) Εἴτα ἐκλαδομένοι τῆς δόξης τῆ Θεοῦ, παθεῖν αὐτὸν λέγουσιν ἀδελφεῖς. Ὁ γὰρ συνεπαδησεν ὁ πατὴρ ἑρμῆος ὡς τῇ φύσει, φησὶν ὁ Θεοδοτός. . . ἢ γὰρ συμπάθεια πατρὸς τινος, διὰ πατρὸς ἑτέρου. κ. τ. λ. *Clem. Alex. p. 794. D.*

(*c*) Maxime hæc, quæ se existimat meam veritatem possidere dum unicum Deum non alias putat credendum, quam si ipsum eundemque et Patrem et Filium et Spiritum sanctum dicat. *Ad. Prax. c. 2. p. 635, 6. p. 495. 1.*

Itaque duos et tres jam jactitant a nobis prædicari; se vero unius Dei cultores præsumunt: . . . μοναρχίαν inquit tenemus. *Ibid. 495. 14.*

(*d*) Simples enim quique, ne dixerim imprudentes et idiotæ (quæ major semper credentium pars est,) quoniam et ipsa regula fidei a pluribus diis seculi ad unicum verum Deum transfert—expavescunt ad cœconomiam: Numerum et dispositionem trinitatis

devisionem præsumunt unitatis. *Ibid. c. 3. p. 635. D. 495. 10.*

Itaque duos et tres jam jactitant a nobis prædicari; se vero unius Dei cultores præsumunt. *Ibid. c. 3. p. 635. D. p. 495. 14.*

(*e*) Fortasse non credenda de patre; licet Scripta, quem isti in vulvam Mariæ deducunt, et in Pilati tribunal imponunt, et in monumento Joseph concludunt. *Ibid. c. 16. p. 649. A. p. 503. 45.*

(*f*) Quanquam cum duæ substantiæ censeantur in Christo Jesu, divina et humana, constat autem immortalem esse divinam, sicut mortalem quæ humana sit, apparet, quatenus eum mortuum dicat (1 Cor. xv. 3.) id est, qua carnem et hominem et filium hominis, non qua spiritum, et sermonem et Dei Filium. Dicendo denique, Christus mortuus est, id est, unctus; id quod unctum est, mortuum dicit, id est carnem. Ergo, inquis,

us, that the Praxeans said the like: that the Father, or the divine nature in Jesus, did not suffer. SECT. 8.

SECT. IX. *He received the Old Testament and the New, both Gospels and Epistles.*

TERTULLIAN argues against them from every part of scripture, as supposing they allowed (*g*) the authority of it, and were obliged to acquiesce in the true sense and interpretation of it. SECT. 9.

Having quoted the Psalms and Isaias, he says, (*b*) it is needless to produce more passages, though many others might be added. Having argued a great deal from the Old Testament, (*i*) he proceeds to the New, and alledges both gospels and epistles, quoting particularly St. John's gospel, and St. Paul's first epistle to Timothy. He has a long argument, or string of quotations from St. John's (*k*) gospel, in eight or nine chapters, and as many folio pages. And in this work of Tertullian, the (*l*) beginning of that gospel is quoted

quis, et nos eadem ratione Patrem mortuum dicentes qua vos Filium, non blasphemamus in Dominum Deum: non enim ex divina, sed ex humana substantia, mortuum dicimus. *Cap. 29. p. 661. D. 662. A. p. 511. 49. 512.*

(*g*) Probare autem tam aperte debetis ex scripturis quam nos probamus illum sibi filium fecisse, &c. *Ibid. c. 11. p. 499. 10.*

(*b*) Hæc pauca de multis. Nec enim affectamus universas scripturas evolvere. *Cap. 11. p. 642. D. p. 499. 46.*

(*i*) Si hunc articulum quaestionibus scripturæ veteris non expediam, de Novo

Testamento sumam confirmationem nostræ interpretationis. . . Ecce enim et in Evangeliiis et in Apostolis visibilem et invisibilem Deum deprehendo. . . . Exclamat quodammodo Joannes: (*cap. i. 18.*) Deum nemo vidit unquam. Utique nec retro . . . confirmat et Apostolus de Deo: (1 Tim. vi. 16.) Quem nemo vidit hominum, sed nec videre potest. *Cap. 15. p. 646. D. p. 502. 22.*

(*k*) *A. cap. 21. ad. cap. 27. p. 651. D. 659. p. 505. 512.*

(*l*) Et in primis, ipsa statim præfatio Joannis Evangelizatoris demonstrat, quod retro

SECT. 9. over and over. And not only St. John and St. Paul, but Matthew and Luke (*m*) are likewise expressly mentioned by name.

The followers of Praxeas, as well as Praxeas himself were very fond of St. John's writings: Tertullian therefore quotes (*n*) his first epistle, and his gospel again and again. Having gone over his gospel from the beginning to the end, he proceeds to the other gospels, (*o*) and argues from the accounts of our Saviour's Nativity in Matthew and Luke. Whence it appears, that they drew an argument from Luke i. 35. They said, the Holy Ghost, or the Spirit of God, is God himself, and *the power of the highest*, the Highest himself.

retro fuerit, qui caro fieri habebat. In principio erat sermo, et sermo erat apud Deum, et Deus erat sermo, &c. *Cap. 21. p. 651. C. p. 50. 30.*

(*k*) Aut nunquid mendacium Evangeliiis exprobat, dicens, viderit Matthæus et Lucas. *Cap. 1. p. 634. B. p. 494. 16.*

(*n*) Denique inspiciamus, quem Apostoli viderint. Quod vidimus, inquit Joannes, (*1. Ep. c. 1.*) quod audivimus, . . et manus nostræ contrectaverunt, de sermone vitæ. *Cap. 15. p. 647. B. p. 502. 36.*

Joannes autem (*1. Ep. ii. 22.*) etiam mendacem notat eum qui negaverit Jesum esse Christum: contra (*1. Ep. cap. v. 1.*) de Deo natum omnem, qui crediderit Jesum esse Christum. *Cap. 28. p. 661. A. p. 511. 23.*

(*o*) Videmus Joannis Evangelium decurrisse. . . . Ceterum ut alia Evangelia non interponam, quæ de nativitate dominica fidem confirmant, sufficit eum qui nasci habebat ex virgine, ab ipso annuntiari angelo, filium Dei determinatum: Spiritus Dei superveniet in te, et virtus Altissimi obumbrabit te. Propterea quod nascetur ex te sanctum vocabitur Filius Dei. Volent quidem et hic argumentari. Sed veritas prævalebit. Nempe, inquiunt, Filius (f. Spiritus) Dei Deus est, et virtus Altissimi Altissimus est. Nec pudet eos injicere, Quod si esset, scriptum fuisset. Quem enim verebatur, ut non aperte pronuntiaret, Deus superveniet, et Altissimus obumbrabit se. *Cap. 26. p. 658. A. p. 506. 27.*

S E C T. X. *He founded his Arguments upon a great variety of Passages both in the Old and New Testament.*

N O T only Tertullian endeavoured to confute the fol- SECT. 10.
lowers of Praxeas by scripture, but they themselves argued from it. And he has happily let us know some of the texts, on which they insisted.

They were much moved, he says, (*p*) by any passages of the Old or New Testament, which speak of there being one God only: particularly where it is said, (Is. xlv. 5.) *I am the Lord, and there is none else, there is no God besides me.* And ch. xlv. 24. *I am the Lord that maketh all things; that stretcheth forth the heavens ALONE; that spreadeth abroad the earth by myself.*

In the New Testament, (*q*) they grounded much upon the answer which our Lord made to Philip, John xiv. 9. 10.

3 H.

They

(*p*) Sed hanc societatem nominum patrum in filio ne facile perspiciant, perturbat illos scriptura si quando unicum Deum statuit. *Cap. 18. p. 649. D. p. 504. 16.*

Igitur unus Deus Pater, et alius absque eo non est. Inspice sequentia hujusmodi ———. Et invenes, fere ad idolorum facitantes atque cultores eorum pertinere, ut multitudinem falsorum deorum unio divinitatis expellat. *Cap. 18. 649. D. 650. A.*

Itaque præter semet ipsum non esse alium Deum, hoc propter idolatriam tam Nationum quam Israelis. *Ibid.*

Quin et hoc dictum ejus in argumentis singularitatis arripient: extendi, inquit, cœlum solus. (Is. 44. 24.) *Cap. 19. p. 650. B. p. 504. 39.*

(*q*) Sed argumentationibus eorum adhuc retundendis opera præbenda est, si quid de scripturis ad sententiam suam excerpent. . . Nam sicut in veteribus nihil aliud tenent quam, Ego Deus, et alius præter me non est: ita in Evangelio responsionem Domini ad Philippum tuentur: Ego et Pater unum sumus: et, qui me viderit, videt et Patrem: et Ego in Patre, et Pater in me. His tribus capitulis totum instrumentum utriusque testamenti volunt cedere. *Cap. 20. p. 651. B. p. 505. 20.*

They likewise insisted on (*r*) John x. 30. Having considered many passages in St. John's gospel, he concludes: wherefore (*f*) the texts, which you think to be for you, are all against you.

Praxeas received the Acts of the Apostles. Aud argued from (*t*) that book, in favour of this opinion. And Tertullian endeavours to confute him by it in a great variety of instances, some of which are given below, and more might be added.

Tertullian also argues against him from St. Paul's epistles, particularly from the epistles (*u*) to the Romans and Galatians, and (*x*) the first to the Corinthians. He also endeavours to confute him from (*y*) the epistles to the Ephesians,

(*r*) *Ego et Pater unum sumus.* Hic ergo jam gradum volunt figere stulti, immo cæci, qui non videant: primo ego et Pater, duorum esse significationem: dehinc in novissimo sumus, non ex unius esse personæ . . . tum quod unum sumus, non unus sumus. *Cap. 22. p. 507. 18.*

(*f*) Igitur quæcunque ex his putaveris ad demonstrationem ejusdem Patris et Filii proficere tibi posse, adversus definitivam Evangelii sententiam niteris. *Cap. 25. p. 657. D. p. 509. 23.*

(*t*) Sed non ita docent Acta Apostolorum in illa exclamatione Ecclesiæ ad Deum: Convenerunt enim universi, adversus sanctum Filium tuum Jesum: (Act. iv. 27.) Sic et Petrus: (Act. ii. 36.) Firmissime itaque cognoscat omnis domus Israel, quod et Dominum et Christum, id est unctum, fecerit eum Deus hunc Jesum, quem vos crucifixistis. *Cap. 28. p. 660. D. 661. A. p. 511. 18. 22.*

Altissimus, qua dextra Dei exaltatus,

sicut Petrus in Actis concionatus. *Cap. 17. p. 649. C. p. 504. 9.*

Hunc videt Stephanus cum lapidaretur, ad huc stantem ad dexteram Dei. *Cap. 30. p. 663. A. p. 512. 35.*

(*u*) Sic et Paulus ubique Deum Patrem ponit, et Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum. Cum ad Romanos scribit . . Cum et Galatas . . Et habes tota instrumenta ejus, quæ in hunc modum pronuntiant. *Cap. 28. p. 661. A. p. 511. 26.*

(*x*) Nam et Apostolus non sine onere pronuntians Christum mortuum, adjecit secundum scripturas. (1 Cor. xv. 3.) *Cap. 29. p. 511. 47.*

Siquidem Apostolus scribit de ultimo fine cum tradiderit regnum Deo et patri, (1 Cor. xv. 24.) &c. *Cap. 4. p. 495. 5. Vide etiam cap. 1, 4, 10, 14, 15, 16, &c. &c.*

(*y*) Et cum Apostolus scribit, uti Deus Domini nostri Jesu Christi det vobis spiritum sapientiæ et agnitionis. (Ep. i. 17.) *Cap. 28. p. 511. 42.*

fians, and from (x) the first of Timothy, and also from the SECT. 10.
epistle (a) to the Philippians.

We have seen before that the first epistle of St. John was much regarded by Praxeas, and that Tertullian frequently quotes it against him.

He also received (b) St. John's Revelation, and argued from it, particularly from chap. i. 8. I am Alpha and Omega faith the Lord, which is, and which was, and which is to come, the Almighty.

(x) De Patre autem ad Timotheum, æqualem Deo. (Phil. ii. 6.) *Cap. 7. p.*
quem nemo vidit hominum nec videre po- 497. 24.
test: exaggerans amplius qui solus habet
immortalitatem, &c. (1 Tim. vi. 16.) *Cap.*
15. *p. 502. 51.*

(a) Hic certe est, qui in effigie Dei con-
stitutus, non rapinam existimavit esse se
(b) Interim, hic mihi promotum sit re-
sponsum adversus id quod et de Apocalypsi
Joannis proferunt. Ego Dominus qui est,
et qui fuit, et venit, Omnipotens. *Cap.*
17. *p. 649. C. p. 504. 12.*



C H A P. XXI.

Of JULIUS CASSIANUS.

S E C T. I. *Of his Time.*

SECT. I. JULIUS Cassianus, or Cassian, is supposed by (a) Cave to have flourished about the year 174. By (b) Tillemont about 200. Perhaps he might be as well placed between both these dates, at about 190. There is little notice taken of him by any antient writer, beside Clement of Alexandria. I shall quote all the passages, in which Clement mentions him, in the order in which they lie, and make a few short remarks.

S E C T. II. *In his Writings he argued from the Old, as well as the New Testament.*

SECT. 2. CLEMENT asserts, that the Hebrew philosophy is the most antient. This, says he, has been well shewn by Tatian in his book against the Gentils or Greeks. It is also shewn by Cassian (c) in the first book of his Commentaries. It is not unlikely therefore, that in that work, Cassian defended

(a) H. L. P. 1. p. 78.

(b) Mem. Ec. T. 2. Les Gnostiques, p. 51. et Les Valentinien, p. 265.

(c) Εἰρηται δὲ καὶ κασσιανὸς ἐν τῷ πρῶτῳ

τῶν ἐξηγητικῶν. Str. Lib. 1. p. 320. B.

fended the truth of the Christian religion. And we may SECT. 2. conclude likewise, that he respected the Jewish people, and Moses their law giver.

In another place Clement is arguing against the Encratites, who condemned marriage. He takes some notice of their reasonings, and then adds: (*d*) by such arguments Cassian, a principal defender of Docetism, endeavours to support their doctrine. For thus he writes in his book of Continence. In which passage Cassian quotes, and argues from If. lvi. 3. and Matt. xix. 12. Here Clement observes, that Cassian agrees with Tatian. In this book too Cassian (*e*) argued from our Lord's answer to a question of Salome, supposed to be taken from the gospel according to the Egyptians, of which we took notice (*f*) formerly.

In this same book likewise, Cassian said, that (*g*) the coats of skins, which God made for Adam and Eve, to cover them, were bodies. Gen. iii. 21. And it seems somewhat probable, that here Cassian argued also from Eph. iv. 22. 26. which therefore Clement explains in a (*h*) different manner from him. Upon these two last passages

Beaufobre

(*d*) Τοιούτοις επιχειρεῖ καὶ ὁ τῆς δοκίμης ἐξαρχὼν ἱερεὺς κασσιανός. Ἐν γὰρ τῷ περὶ εὐμεταίας, ἢ περὶ εὐσεβείας, κατὰ λέξιν φησὶν . . . Εἰ γὰρ ἡν παρὰ θεῷ, εἰς οὐ σπενδομένη, ἡ τοιαύτη παρασκευὴ, ἢ καὶ ἐμακαρίσει τῆς εὐσεβείας· κ. λ. *Str.* 3. p. 465. B. C. D.

(*e*) Διὰ τούτου τοι ὁ κασσιανὸς φησὶ, πυνθάνομένης τῆς σαλῶμης, ποτε γνωσθήσεται τὰ περὶ αὐτῆς ἡμεῖς, εἴη ὁ κυριώτερος, ὅταν τοῦ τῆς αἰσχυνῆς ἐνδύμα πατήσῃ. κ. λ. *Ibid.* C. D.

(*f*) See vol. 2. p. 494. and 527. first edit. p. 496. 528. second edition.

(*g*) Χιτῶνας δὲ δερματίνους ἡγεῖται κασσιανὸς τὰ σώματα. *Ibid.* p. 466. D.

(*h*) Ὅταν ἂν ὁ ἀποστόλος εἴπῃ, ἐνδύσασθε τὸν καινὸν ἀνδρῶπον τὸν κατὰ θεὸν κτιζόμενον, ἡμῖν λέγει, τοῖς πεπλάσμενοις ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ παντοκράτορος βουλῆς ὡς πεπλάσμεθα· παλαιοὶ δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς γενετικῆς καὶ ἀναγενετικῆς φησὶν ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν βίον τὸν ἐν παρακοῇ. κ. τ. λ. *Ibid.* C.

SECT. 2. Beaufobre has some curious observations, which (*i*) may be seen in his history of Manicheism.

Clement once more mentions (*k*) Cassian with others, and not without a good deal of indignation, on account of his Docetism, and aversion to the appointment of marriage.

I should add, that Theodoret (*l*) in the article of Secundus, whom he calls successor of Valentin, mentions several others, leaders of parties, somewhat different from the original Valentinian scheme, and among them *Cossian*, perhaps meaning our *Cassian*.

SECT. III. *Of his Opinions, Country, and Philosophical Speculations.*

SECT. 3. **B**Y all which we perceive, that Julius Cassian, who seems to have been contemporary with Clement, was a Christian, a Docete, and an Encratite. And it appears highly probable, that he received the scriptures of the Old and New Testament, as other Christians generally did. If he quoted the gospel according to the Egyptians, it is not certain that he shewed the same respect to it, which he had for the other gospels. However, from that reference, and the particular notice taken of him by Clement of Alexandria, whilst other writers, so far as we know, have omitted to mention

(*i*) T. 2. p. 135. 136.

(*k*) Οι μοι των κακων. Βλασφημισι το βη-
λημα το Θεου και το μυστηριον της κτισεως, την
γενεσιν διαβαλλοντες. δια ταυτα η δοκησις Κασ-
σιανω. *Ibid.* p. 469. C. D.

(*l*) Και αλλοι δε μυριοι ευτευδες ανεφυσαν
αιρεσεως αρχηγοι Κοσσιανος, Θεοδοτος. κ. τ. λ.
H. F. Lib. 1. p. 201. A.

mention him, it may be argued, that he was of the same SECT. 3.
country. He was learned, and may have been virtuous.
For he is spoken of with great respect by Clement (*m*) after
his confutation of him in the passage before (*n*) quoted.
But he was mistaken in several respects, being misled, as it
seems, by his philosophical speculations.

(*m*) Ηγείται δὲ ὁ γενναῖος ἄνθρωπος Πλατωνικώτε-
ρον, θεῖαν ἔσσαν τὴν ψυχὴν ἀνῶθεν ἐπιθυμία δη-
λυθεῖσαν δευρὸ ἡκεῖν εἰς γενεσὶν καὶ φθορᾶν. *Str.*
Lib. 3. p. 466. A.
(*n*) Page 421. note (*e*).



C H A P. XII.

*Of the Helcesaites, or Offens.*S E C T. I. *The Time uncertain when they arose.*

SECT. 1. **W**E have already spoken of this sect, (a) the time of rise of which is uncertain. Epiphanius (b) places Elxai from whom they derived their name under the Emperor Trajan. Eusebius places the appearance of it much later. For having mentioned some persons in Arabia against whom Origen disputed, he adds, (c) At that time also sprang up another perverse opinion, called the heresy of the *Helcesaites*, but it became extinct almost as soon as it appeared.

S E C T. II. *They were mentioned, and written against by Origen.*

SECT. 2. **O**RIGEN makes mention of it in a discourse to the people upon the eighty-second Psalm, in these words: "There is very lately come among us, a person highly conceited of himself, supposing he should be able to defend an atheistical and wicked opinion, newly (d) arisen up to infest (our) churches, called the heresy of the Elcesaites. I will lay before you the evils contained in that opinion, that you

(a) *Cred. P. 2. V. 3. p. 202. n. 5. p.*(c) *H. E. Lib. 6. c. 38.*

256.

(b) *Ad. Har. 19. n. 1. p. 40. A.*(d) . . . *νεωστὶ ἐπαυρισσάμενης τῆς ἐκκλησίας.**Ibid. p. 233. D.*

you may not be carried away with it. It (*e*) rejects some SECT. 2.
things in every part of scripture. Again, it makes use of
passages out of every part of scripture, both of the ancient
and the evangelical scripture. It rejects the Apostle entirely.
And it teaches, that to deny the faith is an indifferent thing.
He who has understood the truth according to him, may in a
case of necessity deny it with his mouth, though not with
the heart. They have a book, which they say fell down
from heaven. And they who hear that, and believe, as
they affirm, shall obtain remission of sins, but a different
remission from that which Christ bestows."

SECT. III. *Other antient Authors who speak
of this Sect, and of their Opinions.*

IT cannot be improper to observe here, what farther no- SECT. 3.
tice any other antient writers have taken of a sect, which
seems to lie in a good deal of obscurity.

The Helcesaites, or Elcesaites are just mentioned by Me-
thodius. But (*f*) he so dislikes them, that he says, they had
better not be so much as mentioned. .

I do not observe these people in Philaster.

Epiphanius often speaks of them. In (*g*) his Recapitula-
tion he says: "The Sampseans, or Elcesæans, to this very
time dwell in Arabia, in a country lying above the Dead Sea.

3 I

They

(*e*) Αθετεί τινα απο πασης γραφης* κεχρηται μνημονευσαι. Method. Conv. p. 113. D. Ap.
ρητοις παλιν απο πασης παλαιας τε και ευαγγε- Combes. Auth. Nov.
λικης* τον αποστολον αθετει. κ. λ. p. 234. A. (g) Anac. p. 397. cap. 7. vol. 1. edit.
(*f*) Μαρκιωνος γαρ και ουαλειτινις, και των Paris. 1622.
περι τον Ελκεσαιον, και της αλλης, καλον μηδε

SECT. 3. They are followers of one Elxai, a false prophet. Of his family (*b*) there have been in our days two women named Marthus and Marthina; which have been worshipped by that sect, as goddesses. They entirely agree with the Ebionites. In the same work, in the article of the Ebionites, he had before said, "That (*i*) the Ebionites very much agree with " the before-mentioned Cerinthians and Nazareans, with (*k*) " whom also the heresy of the Sampseans and Elceseans con- " fents in part."

In the larger work of Epiphanius, these people are spoken of under three articles: first in that of the Offens, then that of the Ebionites, and finally in that, which may be reckoned most properly the article peculiarly allotted to them which last is to this purpose. "That (*l*) the Sampseans, called also " Elceseans, live in Peræa, (or beyond Jordan) beyond the " Salt, otherwise called the Dead Sea, in the country of the " Moabites, near the brook Arnon, and farther up in Iturea " and Nabatis. They glory in Elxai as their master." He here again speaks of the two forementioned women, Marthus and Marthina, and enlarges in the account of the great respect shewed to them. "One of whom he had heard to be " dead, the other, Marthina, might be still living, unless " she too had died lately." In the article of the Offens, he had before spoken of these women. There he says, "that " (*m*) Marthus had died a little while ago, but that Mar-
thina

(*b*) ἢ ἐπὶ διγὰρ ἐκ τῆ γενεῆς υπηρχε μαρθὺς
καὶ μαρθίνη . . . Παραπλησίως τοῖς ἐβιωνταίοις
πάντα ἔχοντες. *Ibid.*

(*i*) *Ibid.* p. 53. Cap. 10. C.

(*k*) Οἱς συνήφθη κατὰ τὴν σαμπσαιῶν τε καὶ
ελκεσαιῶν αἵρεσις. *Ibid.*

(*l*) *Adv. H.* 53. p. 461. 462.

(*m*) *H.* 19. Num. 2. p. 41. B.

“thina was still living.” He says, “they (*n*) make use of SECT. 3.
 “the same book that is used by the Offens, Ebionites, and
 “Nazareans, as he had before mentioned several times.
 “These Sampfæans, he says, are neither Christians, nor
 “Jews, nor Heathens, but so compounded of each one, as
 “to be nothing at all, They (*o*) are said to have another
 “little book ascribed to the brother of Elxai. They (*p*)
 “profess to believe one God, whom they worship with cer-
 “tain washings or purifications. They adhere to the Jews
 “in all things. Some of them abstain from animal food.
 “They are not unwilling to lay down their life for one
 “of the family of Elxai. They (*q*) neither receive the
 “prophets, nor the Apostles. And are all over in error.
 „Water is esteemed by them, as if it were God, and
 “the fountain of life. They confess Christ in words, but
 “they think him a creature, and that he has often appeared.
 “And that he first formed the body of Adam, and that he
 “puts it on, or clothes himself with it, whenever he pleaseth.
 “Him they call Christ; and the Holy Spirit (*r*) they say is
 “his sister, making him a woman. And many other ridicu-
 “lous opinions they have among them.”

(*n*) κεχρηται δε τη βιβλω ταυτη και οσσαυτοι.
 κ. λ. p. 461. B.

(*o*) Φασι δε και αλλο εχειν. κ. λ. Ibid.

(*p*) Θεον δε ενα λεγουσι, κ. λ. Ibid. C.

(*q*) και οτε προφητας δεχονται οι τωιυτοι,
 οτε αποστολεις. κ. τ. λ. Ibid. D.

(*r*) Καλεισθαι δε αυτον Χριστον, και ειναι το
 αγιον Πνευμα αδελφην αυτη θηλυκω σχηματι.
 Ibid. No. 1. p. 462. A.

SECT. IV. *Of the Offens, who were the same with the Elcesaites, called also Sampseans, their Time and Opinions.*

SECT. 4.

AS the sect of the Offens were closely connected with the Elcesaites, and regarded Elxai with veneration, it will be proper to speak of them in this place. They are reckoned by Epiphanius to be a Jewish sect: but it will appear that they were Christians, and the same with the Sampseans or Elcesaites. The (*f*) Offens, says Epiphanius, agree with the forementioned, (viz. the Nazarens). They are Jews, as well as the foregoing: they are said to have had their original in the country of Nabatis, and Iturea, and Moab, and Areil, which lie beyond the valley of Salt. To these joined himself Elxai in the the time of the Emperor Trajan, after the coming of our Saviour. He was a false prophet. He (*t*) composed a book after the manner of a prophecy, as if it had been a work containing divine wisdom. They likewise say, he had a brother named Jexe, or Jexeus. He was an impostor of the Jewish nation, and pretended to have a zeal for Jewish rites, but yet lived not himself according to the law. He taught men to swear by salt, water, the earth, bread, and heaven, and the air, and the wind. Sometimes he speaks of seven other witnesses; namely, heaven, water, and

(*f*) *Ad. Hær.* 19. No. 1. p. 39, 40. *A.*

(*t*) Συνηφθη δε τῷτοις μετεπειτα ο καλῶμενος
Ηλξαι εν χρόνοις Τραιανῆ βασιλεως μετα την τε
Σωτηρος παρῆσιαν ος εγενετο ψευδοπροφητης.

συνεγραψατο δε ὁτος βιβλιον δηθεν κατα προφη-
τειαν η ως κατα ενδεον σοφίαν. *Ibid.* p. 40.
A. B.

and spirits, and holy angels of prayer, and oil, and salt, and the earth. He is an enemy to virginity, condemns continency, and compels men to marry.

He (*u*) has some fancies which he recommends as a revelation. He teaches men to be hypocrites, and says it is no sin to worship idols in time of persecution, provided it be done with the mouth only, and not with the heart. Epiphanius afterwards adds: he (*x*) therefore long ago joined himself to the forementioned heresy of the Offens, of whom there are still remains in that same country of Nabatis and Peræa, and in the country of the Moabites, which are now called Sampseans. He (*y*) forbids to pray towards the east, but says, that every where we ought to pray looking towards Jerusalem. And yet, as Epiphanius writes, he condemns sacrifices, and denies they were ever appointed of God. He respected water, but not fire, and spake of the Holy (*z*) Spirit as female.

Epiphanius further relates of Elxai, (*a*) that he had great respect paid him by the followers of four sects, who in some measure borrowed from him, viz. the Ebionites, two sorts of Nazarens, (*) and the Offens. He further says of him, that

(*u*) Φαντασιωδῶς δὲ τινὰ ὡς δίδεν ἀποκαλύψως παρεισφέρει. *Ibid.* p. 40. C.

(*x*) Οὗτος μὲν ἐν ἀνῶ συνήπται τῇ προειρημένῃ αἵρεσιν τῇ τῶν Οὐσηνῶν καλημένῃ, ἧς ἐτι λειψάνα καὶ δευροῦ ὑπαρχει ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ Ναβατιδὶ γῇ, τῇ καὶ Περαιᾷ πρὸς τὴν Μωαβιτιδὶ ὅπερ γενοῦς νυνὶ Σαμψαίων καλεῖται. *Ibid.* No. 2. p. 40. D.

(*y*) Κωλυεὶ δεῖς ἀνατολὰς εὐξασθαι φασκῶν μὴ δεῖν προσεχέειν ὅτως, ἐπὶ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα δὲ εἶναι τὸ πρόσωπον ἐκ πάντων μερῶν. κ. τ. λ. *Ib.* No. 3. p. 42. A. B.

(*z*) Εἶναι δὲ καὶ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα καὶ αὐτὸ θηλείαν. *Ibid.* No. 4. p. 42. C.

(*a*) Καὶ κεχρηνται αὐτῷ τεσσαρεῖς αἵρεσεις ἐπεὶ δὲ διελγόνται τῇ αὐτῇ πλάνῃ. *Ibid.* No. 5. p. 43. D.

(*) The latter Nazarens, which is one of the four sects mentioned by Epiphanius, are perhaps the same with the Sampseans, or Elcesaites. Le Clerc was of this opinion, for he says, Vult Idem (Epiphanius) Elxæo magistro

SECT. 4. that (*b*) on his joining himself to the Ebionites, they alter'd their opinion in some measure concerning Christ, believing him to be Adam, or at least that he was the former of Adam's (*c*) body, and assumed it whenever he pleased. From Elxai also these Ebionites are said by (*d*) Epiphanius to have learnt their silly notions concerning the great height, and breadth, and thickness of the bodies of Christ, and of the Holy Spirit; and to have imbibed their doctrines (*e*) principally from those countries, where Elxai and his followers flourished.

The foregoing passages contain all, which Epiphanius says of Elxai, under the Offen and Ebionitish heresies.

In that part where Epiphanius speaks of him, under the article Offens, there occurs a vile reflection. He says (*f*) that Elxai calls Christ a great king; but he adds, he does not know whether he means our Lord Jesus Christ or another; and the reason he gives for his ignorance seems to be, because

Elxai

magistro usas quatuor Hærefes, Offenos, Ebionæos, Nazaræos posteriores et Sampsaæos. *Hist. Eccles.* p. 535. No. 3. He thinks indeed, that Epiphanius trifles egregiously in making two sorts of Nazarens. *Ibid.* p. 538. No. 9. and p. 539. 12.

(*b*) Ταχα δε ομαι απο τε συναφθηναι αυτοις Ηλξαιον τον ψευδοπροφητην—ως εκεινος φαντασιαν τινα περι χριστου διηγεται και περι πνευματος αγιου. Τινες γαρ εξ αυτων και Αδαμ τον Χριστον ειπαι λεγουσιν.—ερχεσθαι δε ενταυθα οτε βηλεται, ως και εν τω Αδαμ ηλθε. *Adv. Her.* 36. No. 3. p. 127. A.

(*c*) Και πρωτον μεν πεπλασθαι αυτον το σωμα τη Αδαμ και παλιν ενδυεσθαι οτε βηλεται. *Adv. Her.* 53. No. 1. p. 461. D.

(*d*) Τη δε Ηλξαι την φαντασιαν ως νομιζειν μεν τον Χριστον ειπαι τι ανθρωπικον εκτυπωμα αορατον

ανθρωποις μιλιων εννηκοντα εξ το μηκος, δηθεν σχοινων εικοσιτεσσαρων, το δε πλατος σχοινων εξ μιλιων εικοσιτεσσαρων το παχος δε κατα μετρησιν αλλην τινα. κ. τ. λ. *Adv. Her.* 30. No. 17. p. 141. D.

(*e*) Τας δε ριζας των ακανθων παραφυαδων εχουσιν απο της Ναβατιας και Παλαιας το πλειστον Μωαβιτιδος δε. κ. τ. λ. *Ibid.* No. 18. p. 142. A.

(*f*) Αλλα και παλιν δηθεν μεν Χριστον ονοματι ομολογει, λεγων οτι Χριστος ο μεγας βασιλευς, ου μην πανυ γε κατειληφα, —ει περι τε Κυριου ημων Ιησου Χριστου υφηγησατο οτε γαρ τωτο οριζει, Χριστον δε απλως λεγει. ως εξ ων κατειληφαμεν τινα ετερον σημαινων η προσδοκων, κωλυει γαρ εις ανατολην ευξασθαι. κ. τ. λ. *Adv. Her.* 19. No. 3. p. 41. D. 42. A.

Elxai forbad men to worship towards the east, and enjoined them every where to worship towards Jerusalem. A sufficient foundation truly, on which to rest such a malicious insinuation: which amounts at last only to this: that the object of superstitious regard towards which this holy father, and his heretical opponent, were to turn their faces in time of divine worship, might happen to be in opposite points of the compass.

Austin is only remarkable for the time in which he places this sect, being the (g) 32d in his catalogue of ninety heresies; whereas in Epiphanius it is the 53d, though he reckons no more than eighty in the whole. What Austin (b) says of them, is copied from Epiphanius's recapitulation. He also mentions them under the article Ebionites, (i) referring again to Epiphanius.

Theodoret (k) speaks of them in the following manner: The Elcesæans, who are so called from one Elcesai, who set up this heresy, having borrowed divers fictions from several other heresies, thus formed their peculiar error:

In

(g) *Vide the Index of Heresies in the Preface to his Treatise on Heresies, vol. 6. p. 4. col. 1. Ed. Ven. 1570.*

(b) Elceseos et Samseos hic tanquam ordine suo commemorat Epiphanius quos dicit a quodam pseudopropheta esse deceptos qui vocabatur Elci, ex cujus genere duas mulieres tanquam Deas ab eis perhibet adoratas. Cætera Hebionæis tenere similia. *De Hæres. vol. 6. cap. 32. p. 6. col. 1. Ed. Ven. 1570.*

(i) Huic hæresi Epiphanius Samseos et Elceseos ita copulat ut sub eodem numero tanquam una sit hæresis ponat aliquod ta-

men interesse significans. *Ibid. cap. 10. p. 5. col. 1.*

(k) Οἱ δὲ Ἐλκεσαῖοι ἐκ τινος Ἐλκεσαι τῆς αἵρεσεως ἀρχάντο; τὴν προσηγορίαν λαβόντες ἐκ διαφορῶν αἵρεσεων μύθος ἐρανισάμενοι τὴν οὐκίαν συντίθεικασιν πλάνην. . . . καὶ τούτων δὲ πάλιν μετενσωματωσθαι καὶ εἰς ἄλλα εἶναι σώματα λέγει, καὶ καθ' ἑκάστον καιρὸν διαφορῶς δεικνυσθαι, ἐπὶ ταῖς δὲ καὶ δαιμονίων ἐπικλησίαις καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ χρῆνται καὶ βαπτίσμασιν ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν φοιτῶν ὁμολογίᾳ ἀσεβολογίαν δὲ καὶ μαγικὴν καὶ μαθηματικὴν ἠσπάζοντο πλάνην καὶ προγνωστικὴς ἐαυτῶν προσηγορευοῦν. κ. τ. λ. *Hær. Fab. Lib. 2. cap. 7. p. 221, 2. vol. 4. Paris Cramoisy, 1642.*

In their opinions concerning the principle of all things, they agree with us, for they say there is one unbegotten Being, and him they call the master of all things. But they do not teach one Christ, but one above, and another below; and him they represent to have dwelled in many formerly, and at last to have descended. Sometimes they acknowledge that Jesus is from God: at other times they say he is a spirit. Sometimes they say, he had a virgin for his mother; but in other of their writings, they do not own so much as this. They believe him to transmigrate into other bodies, and every time to appear differently.

They use songs, and invocations of dæmons, and washings in the consecration of the elements. They profess to follow astrology, and magic, and the mathematical error, and call themselves prognosticators. They have rejected the Apostle altogether, and have composed a certain book, which they say fell down from heaven. He who attends to this book, will receive a remission of his sins; but a remission different from that, which Christ bestowed. Against this heresy Origen has written well. But Alcibiades, of Apamea, in Syria, has commended it.

Thus far Theodoret, on which it may be observed, that Epiphanius does not mention any thing of their teaching two Christs, one above, and another below; unless a passage concerning Elxai before referred to, (1) and introduced by him under the article Ebionites, may be thought to convey some such meaning. He had been representing Ebion, as holding the opinion that Christ was born of the seed of Joseph, by ordinary generation; and his followers as differing in their sentiments

(1) Vide page 430, note (b).

sentiments concerning Christ, yet all of them entertaining some absurd and perplexed notions about him. He proceeds, (*m*) “ But from the time that Elxai the false prophet joined himself to them, who was followed by those that are called Sampseans, Offens, and Elcesaites, they have adopted certain fancies from him, concerning Christ and the Holy Spirit. For some of them say, that Christ was Adam, meaning he that was first formed by God, and animated with his breath. But others among them say, that he is from above, that he was created before all things, and is a spirit: that he is superior to angels, that he is Lord of all, and is called Christ, and has obtained an inheritance there for ever: but that he comes here, when he pleases, as he came in Adam, and as he appeared to the Patriarchs, being cloathed with a body: and that he who came to Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, was the same who appeared in these last days: and that he assumed the very body of Adam, and that he was seen by men, and was crucified, and was raised from the dead, and ascended into heaven. Again, when they please, they contradict all this, and say, that that Spirit which was the Christ, came into, and cloathed itself with him who is called Jesus. Thus there is much obscurity among them as to this point, since they sometimes deliver one thing, and sometimes another, as their opinion about this matter.”

SECT. 4.

3 K

This

(*n*) Ταχα δε οίμαι απο τῆ συναφθῆναι αὐ τοῖς Ἠλξαιοῖν τὸν ψευδο προφῆτην τὸν παρὰ τοῖς Ἀμψηνοῖς (lege Σαμψηνοῖς) καὶ Οσσηνοῖς καὶ Ἐλκεσσαίοις καλεσμένοις ὡς ἐκεῖνος φαντασίαν τινα περὶ Χριστοῦ διηγεται. κ. τ. λ. *Adv. Hær.* 30. No. 3. p. 127. A. B.

SECT. 4.

This passage also illustrates what Theodoret mentions as part of their belief, viz. that Christ transmigrates into other bodies, and every time appears differently. Perhaps this might be only the consequence of their opinion as Unitarians, that God, or the divine power, appeared differently in the different manifestations of himself.

SECT. V. *Of the Name of the Founder of this Sect, and of several Authors who mention him.*

SECT. 5.

THEODORET calls this person Elcesai, whereas in the Synopsis of Epiphanius, (n) he is called Elxa, and in his larger work Elxai, or Elxaios. He owns this heresy was composed out of the opinion of several others, and speaks of it as past, using the preter tense: from whence one may conclude, that the heresy was not then in being, but had become extinct long before, agreeable to what is said by Eusebius. Epiphanius does not charge them with magic, though Theodoret doth. But in alleviation of this accusation it is to be observed, that the antient fathers, as has been frequently mentioned, were very apt to charge those with this crime, who had any thing in their doctrines or rites, which they did not well understand. Had this charge been true, it cannot be supposed, that Epiphanius, who is not backward in attributing this to the heretics he mentions, and who lived much nearer their times than Theodoret, would have omitted it.

Qu.

(n) *Adv. Hær. Synop.* p. 397. B. Ed. Petav.

Qu. Who is Alciabes, mentioned in Theodoret's account? SECT. 5.

Damascen mentions (*o*) these under the article Ebionites; and again (*p*) under the article Sampſæi, and Elceſæi, ſaying they were called ſo from Elxa, which is the reading in Epiphanius's Synopſis, as obſerved before. He has alſo Marthus and Marthina, which is alſo the reading in Epiphanius's Synopſis: whereas the latter in every place in his larger work is Marthana. Which confirms what Cave ſays, (*q*) that only the latter part of this work of Damascen's *De Hæreſibus*, beginning from the Neſtorians, is really his own, the other being a tranſcript of the Synopſis of Epiphanius. (*)

Nicetas Choniates (*r*) ſpeaks alſo of theſe heretics; but he plainly confounds Offens with Eſſens; as Fleury alſo does in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory. (*f*) Nicetas agrees with other authors in the main; but is not to be relied on unleſs other authors confirm what he ſays.

There is ſtill one author more referred to in Ittigius, (*t*) viz. Nicephorus Calliſti, who mentions them in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory (*u*).

(*o*) *De Hæreſibus*, cap. 30. *De Ebionæis*.

(*p*) *Ibid.* cap. 53. *De Sampſæis et Elecſæis*.

(*q*) Pars poſterior (*Libri De Hæreſibus*) a Neſtorianis incipiens quæ ſola Damasceno debetur. Pars enim prior nihil aliud niſi Epiphanii Anacephalæoſis. *Cave Hiſ. Liter.* p. 411. *Edit. Genevæ*, 1729.

(*) The Treatiſe de Prædeſtinatione (*Lib. 1. c. 32.*) agrees with Epiphanius's Recapitu-

lation, it calls their leader Helchi, and a falſe prophet, and them Helceſeans. He concludes, hos Papias preſbyter Achaia obtonuit, the meaning of which ſeems to be, that he ſpoke or wrote againſt them with vehemence.

(*r*) *Theſ. Ortho. Fid. Lib. 1. cap. 33.*

(*f*) *Vol. 1. B. 3. No. 2. p. 165.*

(*t*) *De Hæret. ſec. 239.*

(*u*) *Hiſ. Eccleſ. Lib. 5. cap. 24.*

SECT. VI. *Of the Time when he flourished according to modern Authors.*

SECT. 6. **B**ARONIUS speaks of these Anno 249. No. vii. Pagi speaks of them Anno 247. No. xii.

Basnage places them under the year 104. No. iii. iv. v. vi. vii. viii.

Spondanus in his Epitome of Baronius, places them under the year 105.

Tillemont speaks of them (*x*) under their proper article, of the heresy of the Elcesaites. And in his table of matters, there are references to some other places, besides the article itself, which belongs to these people. Thus he says, (*y*) that the Ebionites in joining themselves to them, altogether corrupted them in their manners. Again, (*z*) Elxai the author of the Elcesaites, made his appearance under Trajan.

Fleury in the place before referred to, (*a*) speaks of Elxai as joining himself to the Offens, under the reign of the Emperor Trajan. He there gives a pretty large and full account of his peculiar tenets, from what Epiphanius says under the articles Ebionites and Offens. But he speaks of the Elcesaitæ under the year 247, about the latter end of Philip's reign, (*b*) where he says, it was rather an old error new revived, than a new one, for it has a near affinity to that of Elxai in the reign of Trajan.

The

(*x*) *Tom. 2. P. 2. p. 85.*

(*y*) Elcesaites, Les Ebionites en se joignant à eux se corrompent tout à fait pour les mœurs. *Tom. 2. P. 1. p. 197, 8.*

(*z*) Elxai auteur des Elcesaites paroît

sous Trajan. *Ibid. p. 198.*

(*a*) *Vol. 1. B. 3. No. 2. p. 165.*

(*b*) *Vol. 1. B. 6. No. 21. p. 363, 4.*

See also Tillemont's Chronology added at the end of Vol. 1. Anno 247.

The time and duration of this heresy is much and justly enough disputed. According to Eusebius, it died away soon after it sprang up, and its beginning was not long before Origen preached his Homilies, against the followers of this sect. For Origen's words as before quoted from Eusebius, (*c*) are, that it was newly sprang up (*d*) against the churches. Now this could not be long before the year 244. (*e*) Because it was not till that year, that he permitted his Homilies to be taken down in writing. But Epiphanius on the other hand (*f*) expressly says, that they were called Elcesaians from one Elxaios or Elxai; (*g*) and he assures us, that Elxai flourished (*h*) and joined himself to the Offens, under the time of the Emperor Trajan, which must be some time about or before the year 120, for in that year Trajan died.

The following supposition may possibly reconcile this difference. Those who were holders of such tenets, were not distinguished by the name of Elcesaites, or Elcesians, till a little before the time when Origen preached against them, but went under the name Offens or Ebionites; with the followers of both which sects, Elxai had some connection, or

at

(*c*) *Hist. Eccles. Lib. 6. c. 38. p. 233.*

(*d*) *νέως ἐπανησάμενης τῆς ἐκκλησίας.*

(*e*) *Ibid. cap. 36. p. 232. Credibility, P. 2. vol. 3. p. 202.*

(*f*) *Adv. Hær. 53. No. 1. p. 461. B. Edit. Petav.*

(*g*) Either reading is indifferent, it being in the same page *Ηλξαι* and *Ηλξαιος*. The followers of him are indeed called by Eusebius and Origen *Ελκεσαιτων*; but Theodoret calls them *Ελκεσαιων*, as Epiphanius also does; and from what he says, it is

evident he considered the *Ελκεσαιτων* of Origen and Eusebius, as the same sect with the *Ελκεσαιων* of Epiphanius. Though he called their founder *Ελκεσαι*, and not *Ηλξαι* or *Ηλξαιος*. This small difference in the reading, can afford no room for a supposition, that the founders, or the people were different, since the same person is called by Epiphanius *Ηλξα*, *Ηλξαι*, and *Ηλξαιος*.

(*h*) *Ibid. 19. No. 1. A. p. 40.*

SECT. 6. at least they adopted some of his peculiar notions. Ittigius (*i*) seems to have reckoned them a heresy of the third, rather than of the second century. For it is his last in the second, and he speaks of it slightly.

Basnage (*k*) is plainly of the same opinion. But he says, he would not however depart from the Chronology of Epiphanius, because it is followed by very learned men; although he should rather be inclined to place this sect in the third century. In this place Basnage well argues, that the Offens of Epiphanius were Christians.

Tillemont had the same opinion of them, for he says, (*l*) "The heretics which we call Elcesaites, were also called "Offenians, Sampseans, and Ampsenians."

Basnage (*m*) thinks they were called Sampseni or Sampseans, from Sampsa, a city of Arabia. Though Le Clerc, (*n*) grounding upon what Epiphanius says, that (*o*) the Sampseans are interpreted to mean people that have some relation to the sun, derives their name from a Hebrew word, which signifies the sun. Scaliger had done the same before him, but very absurdly; as Basnage (*p*) well shows: who observes, that Epiphanius never accused them of worshipping the sun. On the contrary, a passage in him plainly shows,

(*i*) *De Hær. p. 238, 9.*

(*k*) *Anno 104. No. 7.*

(*l*) Les Heretiques que nous appellons Elcesaites ont encore este nommez Offenians, Sampseans, et Ampsenians. *Tom. 2. P. 2. p. 85.*

The last of these names seems to have no other foundation, than a different read-

ing in Epiphanius, where it is *Αμψηνοίς* in the text, and *Σαμψηνοίς* in the margin.

(*m*) *Anno 104. No. 6.*

(*n*) Idque genus hominum Sampseos vulgo dictos a voce Hebraica שמש Sol quasi Solares. *Ecclef. Hist. Anno 103. p. 535. n. 2.*

(*o*) *Σαμψηνοί γὰρ ἐρμηνεύονται Ἡλιακοί. Ad. Hær. 53. No. 2. B. p. 462.*

(*p*) *Ad Ann. 104. N. 5. p. 12.*

shows, that the opinion and practise of Elxai their founder, SECT. 6. was directly opposite. For he thus introduces him, instructing his disciples: (q) "My children do not draw near to
 " the appearance of fire, because this same thing is a deceit,
 " and will cause you to wander, for when you think it near,
 " at the same time it is far off. Wherefore go not after
 " its appearance, but follow rather the sound of water." Agreeable to this, he declared (r) water to be good, but fire of an opposite nature.

Mosheim (s) places Elxai in the second century, and considers him as the author of the sect of the Elcesaites. He says he was a Jew, meaning I suppose of Jewish extraction, and with Epiphanius seems to doubt, whether he and his followers are to be ranked among Christians.

(q) Τεκνα, πορευεσθε μη προς το ειδος τη πυ-
 ρος, οτι πλανασθε, πλανη γαρ εστιν το τοιωτον.
 ορας γαρ φησι αυτο εγγυτατω, και εστιν απο πορ-
 ρωθεν. μη πορευεσθε δε προς το ειδος αυτη, πο-
 ρευεσθε δε μαλλον επι την φωνην τη υδατος. *Ep.*
Har. 19. No. 3. p. 42. B.

(r) Το τε πυρ ωσει Θεω αλλοτριον. το τε
 υδωρ ειναι δεξιον. *Ibid.*

(s) *Eccles. Hist. P. 2d. sec. 2d. cap. 5.*
sec. 5. p. 98, 99.

SECT. VII. *Of the Duration of this Sect.*

SECT. 7.

AS to the continuance of them, according to Epiphanius, (*t*) some of the Sampseans were still in being at the time he wrote, in Nabathis and Peræa, who regarded as divine persons two of the family of Elxai, viz. Marthus and Marthana, the latter of whom was living when he wrote, or at least had died but a little while before. This may be thought to contradict what has been quoted from Eusebius; but perhaps his words are not to be taken in their utmost extent, but may only be intended to inform us, that in consequence of the opposition it met with from Origen, this sect never spread much, and was chiefly confined to those places in the neighbourhood of Palestine, where it took its rise at first; and that the followers of it were but few in number, and for the most part in great obscurity.

It seems indeed from one of the passages last referred to, that their number was small; for he says, (*u*) it was some of the remains of the Offens, who were still in being, and were called Sampseans.

(*t*) *Adv. Hær.* 19. No. 2. D. p. 40.
Ibid. 53. No. 1. p. 461.

(*u*) Ης ἐτι λειψανα καὶ δευρο υπαρχει . . .
οπερ γενος νυνι Σεμψων (Σαμψων) καλειται.
Ibid. p. 40.

S E C T.

SECT. VIII. *What Parts of Scripture they received.*

IT appears by the passage quoted from Eusebius in (x) the beginning of this article, that they received the Old Testament, as well as the Gospels in the New; though they rejected particular passages in several parts of these; as they did the Apostle altogether. Epiphanius says (y) they made use of the same book with the Ebionites, and Nazarens, as he had before frequently mentioned: referring undoubtedly to a copy of the Gospels, in some measure differing from that in common use, which these Christians had, and that they paid a regard to another book, the author of which they said, was the brother of Elxai. He adds, (z) that they received neither the writings of the (*) Prophets, nor Apostles. The-

SECT. 8.

3 L

odoret

(x) Page 425. note (e).

(y) Vide page 427. notes (n) (o).

(z) Ibid. note (q).

(*) There seems at first sight to be some little difference, between the accounts given by Eusebius and Epiphanius, with respect to the parts of the Old Testament rejected by these heretics. But it should be observed, that the expression in Eusebius is general, and in Epiphanius particular, which Theodoret confirms. The words *κεχρηται εντοις παλιν απο πασης παλαιας*, may therefore very well be understood, consistently with their rejecting the Prophets.

For Eusebius himself explains the next word in a manner similar to this. *Εὐαγγελικης* is used in him by way of distinction for the New Testament, as *παλαιας* is for the Old; and though he had said that they quoted passages from every part of the New Testament, *απο πασης γραφης ευαγγελικης*, yet he immediately adds *αδεται τον αποστολον*. This is the same, with *ετι αποστολως δεχονται* of Epiphanius. And for this reason, the former part of Eusebius may be understood, in a perfect agreement with the *ετι προφητας δεχονται* of the same author.

SECT. 8. odoret confirms, their (*a*) rejecting the Apostle, and paying great attention to a certain book, which they say fell down from heaven. Upon the whole then it appears, that the Offens as well as the Elcesaites, were Christians; and regarded many parts of the Old Testament, and the Gospels at least in the New, as sacred books; though it is probable their Christianity was mixed with a number of superstitious rites, and absurd doctrines.

SECT. IX. *Explanation of a Prayer of Elxai.*

SECT. 9. I SHALL only further mention a prayer, which Epiphanius says, Elxai ordered his followers to use: (*b*) the words of which he has given us, with an interpretation, in some part of it unintelligible. The meaning of this, after it had been in vain attempted by Petavius (*c*) and Scaliger, the very learned Croius has well explained, and has given a sense of it very different from that of Epiphanius. The reader

(*a*) Τον δε αποστολον παντεως ηρηδησαν. και βιβλον δε τινα συντεθεικασιν ην εκ των θρανων εφασαν πεπιωκειναι. ταυτης τον ακηκοοτα αφεσιν αμαρτιων λαμβανειν, παρ ην ο χριστος εδωρησατο. *Hær. Fab. Lib. 2. c. 7. p. 222.*

(*b*) Φασκει γαρ λεγειν, Αβαρ, Αιδ, ΜωϊϚ, Νωχιλε, Δαασιμ, Ανη, Δαασιμ, Νωχιλε, ΜωϊϚ, Αιδ, Αβαρ, Σελαμ. α τινα ερμηνευομενα εχει την σαφηνειαν ταυτην. παρελθτω ταπεινωσις εκ

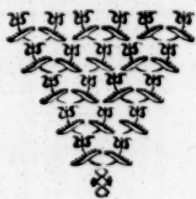
πατερων μω, της κατακρισεως αυτων, και καταπατηματος αυτων, και πονη αυτων καταπατηματι εν κατακρισει δια των πατερων μω απο ταπεινωσεως παρελθσεως εν αποβολη τελειωσεως. κ. τ. λ. *Ad Hær. Lib. 1. H. 19. No. 4. p. 42. D. 43. A.*

(*c*) Non est facile ex hebraicis hisce verbis eam sententiam elicere, quam subjecit Epiphanius. *Petavii in Locum.*

reader will no doubt be pleased to find the whole of this in SECT. 9. the note. (d)

(d) Tentavit et Scaliger sensum expiscari loci difficillimi. Ego inquit *hic esse nullam ευχην colligere possum. Sed statim ut oculos in ea conjeci tres γνωμας agnovi*, quas vir summus sententias exhibet Elenchi capite xxvii. Sed temeritate propius abest negare eam orationem esse, quam orationem affirmat esse Epiphanius. (μηδεις ζητηση την ευμνησιαν, αλλ η μονον εν τη ευχη ταδε λεγεται. *Ibid.*) Neque hic falli potuit Epiphanius, ut pro Ossenorum precatione haberet, quod pura puta sententia est. Vigebat adhuc sancti Patris ævo secta Ossenica, a qua scire facillime potuit, num inter orandum preca-

tionem adhibuerit ejusmodi. Quod si precatio est, totâ Scaliger erravit viâ, cum nil orationis sit in ea sententiâ. *Qui conculcat paupertatem, conculcat fraudem, &c.* Nostro quidem Judicio verborum sensum optime affecutus est doctissimus ille Johannes Croius, cujus explicationi suffragium libentissime nostrum damus. עבר עני מאכותי נהרי רשים אותי רשים נהרי עבי נהרי רשים. Transivit afflictio a patribus meis: tribulationes conterunt me: conterunt tribulationes a patribus meis. Afflictio transeat et pace fruar. *Apud Basnagii Annales, Anno 104. p. 12, 13.*



C H A P. XXIII.

*Of the A L O G I A N S.*S E C T. I. *The Account of them by Epiphanius and Philaster, as rejecting John's Gospel and the Revelations.*

SECT. I. **T**HE Alogians, so called by us, says (a) Epiphanius in his summary, who reject God, the Logos, coming from the Father, do not receive either the gospel according to John, or his Revelation.

To the like purpose (b) Augustin.

In his larger work Epiphanius speaks of this heresy, as arising (c) after the Cataphrygians, Quartodecimans, and others. And says, that (d) he gave them the name of Alogians. They (e) reject, says he, the writings of John. They receive neither his Gospel, nor his Revelation. If they had rejected his Revelation only, some apology might have been made for them: but by rejecting his writings in general, they shew themselves to be like those, whom holy John

(a) P. 396, 397.

(b) Alogi propterea sic vocantur, tamquam sine verbo (λογος enim Græce verbum dicitur) quia Deum verbum recipere noluerunt, Joannis Evangelium respuentes, cujus nec Apocalypsin accipiunt, has videlicet scripturas negantes esse ipsius. H. 30.

(c) H. 51. n. 1.

(d) Ibid. n. 3.

(e) αἱρεσὶν . . . ἀποβάλλουσιν ἰωάννην τὰς βίβλους. . . ὅτε το τὸ ἰωάννη εὐαγγέλιον δεχόμενται, ὅτε τὴν αὐτὴ ἀποκαλύψιν. Καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐδεχοντο τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, τὴν δὲ ἀποκαλύψιν ἀπεβάλλοντο, ἐλεγόμεν αὐ . . . ὅποτε δὲ ὁ δεχόμενος φῶσιν τὰ εἰς τὰ ἀπο τῆς αἰῆς ἰωάννη κηρυγμένα . . . Λέγουσι γὰρ μὴ εἶναι αὐτὰ ἰωάννη, ἀλλὰ κηρυγμένα καὶ ὅτι αὐτὰ φασὶν εἶναι ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ. Ibid. n. 3. p. 423, 424.

John speaks of in his Catholic Epistles, and calls Antichrists. They say, they are not written by John, and ascribe them to Cerinthus: pretending, they are not worthy to be received by the church. Afterwards he says: they argue after this manner, that (*f*) they may not seem without reason to reject the Gospel and the Revelation of John, and perhaps his Epistles likewise. For they are of a piece, and agree together. Once more: they (*g*) say, that John's Gospel ought not to be placed in the New Testament, because it is not of a piece with the other parts.

Thus writes Epiphanius. So that one knows not well, what he would have us to think of these men: whether, that they rejected all the writings commonly ascribed to St. John, or only his Gospel and the Revelation. Mill however roundly says, (*h*) that they rejected all St. John's writings. Damascen, agreeably to Epiphanius's summary, says, (*i*) they rejected the Gospel of John, and his Revelation.

Before we proceed any farther, it should be observed, that that Philaster too has a (*k*) heresy, that rejected John's Gospel and Revelation, and ascribed both to Cerinthus. He does not call them by any name.

(*f*) να δοξῶσι παρῆκβαλλειν τα τῷ ἁγίῳ ἀποστόλῃ βιβλία, φημι δὲ ἰωάννη το τε εὐαγγέλιον, καὶ τὴν ἀποκαλύψιν, ταχὰ δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολάς· συναθεσι γὰρ καὶ αὐταὶ τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ καὶ τῇ ἀποκαλύψει. *N.* 34. *p.* 456. *B. C.*

(*g*) Λεγῶσι δὲ το κατὰ ἰωάννην εὐαγγέλιον, ἐπεὶ δὲ μὴ τα αὐτὰ εἶη . . ἀδιαθετὸν εἶναι, καὶ μὴ δεχέσθαι αὐτὸς αὐτο. *N.* 18. *p.* 441. *C.*

(*h*) Æquales horum Alogi Evangelium, ceteraque D. Joannis scripta repudiarunt, teste Epiphanio. *Prol. n.* 363. *vel. p.* 40. *Ox.*

(*i*) Οἱ το εὐαγγέλιον το κατὰ ἰωάννην ἀθετοῦντες, καὶ τὴν ἀποκαλύψιν αὐτῆ. *Ap. Cotel. Memem. T.* 1. *p.* 194.

(*k*) Post hos sunt hæretici, qui Evangelium secundum Joannem et Apocalypsim ipsius non accipiunt . . ut etiam Cerinthi illius hæretici esse audeant dicere, et Apocalypsim itidem, non beati Joannis Evangelistæ et Apostoli, sed Cerinthi hæretici. *H.* 60. *p.* 120.

S E C T. II. *There never was any such Heresy.*

SECT. 2. **H**AVING alledged all these passages, it is time to deliver my own opinion; which is, that this is a fictitious heresy: and that there never were any Christians, who rejected St. John's Gospel and first Epistle, and yet received the other Gospels, and the other books of the New Testament. There is not any notice taken of them in Irenæus, Eusebius, or any other ancient writer, before Philaster and Epiphanius. Nor has Theodoret thought fit to borrow here any thing from Epiphanius. He has no account of this heresy.

S E C T. III. *Some Account of Epiphanius's Article of the Alogians.*

SECT. 3. **E**PIPHANIUS's article of Alogians, is long. And has in it divers good remarks relating to the Evangelists, and for reconciling their several histories. At the same time it has in it some confusion. For in one (1) place he mentions Porphyry, and Celsus, as if he intended to consider their objections against the Evangelical History. Nevertheless, the article seems to concern Christians; who, as he says, did not receive the Logos: and who rejected John's Gospel, and the Revelation, and would not have them to be in the New Testament, or Canonical. Heathens rejected all the books of the New Testament. And some Christians,
we

(1) *Her.* 51. n. 8. p. 429. D.

we well know, rejected some of them. But it does not appear, that there were any Christians, who received the other books of the New Testament, but rejected St. John's Gospel, or all his writings in general. I think, that the authority of Philaster and Epiphanius cannot be sufficient to satisfy us concerning the existence of a heresy, omitted by all ancient writers before them. Serious Christians might propose difficulties, relating to any books of the New Testament, with a view of discovering, and being established in the truth. And some of the difficulties mentioned by Epiphanius might proceed from such persons. But that there was a sect, or number of Christians, who rejected John's Gospel and the Revelation, and ascribed both to Cerinthus, (whilst they received the other books of the New Testament,) I do not believe, for the reason before mentioned: that is, because we have not sufficient assurance of it from antiquity. However, if there really were some such persons, their opinion would be of little moment: considering the general testimony of the ancients in favour of St. John's Gospel, and his first Epistle: and that all objections against St. John's Gospel may be easily answered.

S E C T. IV. *This Heresy was probably invented upon the Occasion of the Controversy with the Millenarians.*

I M A G I N E, then, that this heresy was invented upon occasion of the controversy of Caius and Dionysius, and others, with the Millenarians in the third century. Some of whom disputed or denied the genuineness of the book of the Revelation,

SECT. 3.

SECT. 4.

SECT. 4. Revelation, and ascribed it to Cerinthus. Hence some said, that those enemies of the Millennium might as well also reject also St. John's Gospel. And others said, that they actually did so: though they did not. It is observable, that in Philaster's catalogue, this heresy follows next after the Millenarians, or Chilionetites, as he calls them. And the order in Epiphanius leads us to the same time.

SECT. V. *A groundless Opinion among the Moderns concerning the Unitarians of the second Century.*

SECT. 5. **T**HERE has been a notion among learned moderns, that the Unitarians of the second century, who appeared soon after the Apostles, rejected St. John's Gospel. Fabricius in a note upon the fore-cited chapter of Philaster, speaks to the same (*m*) purpose. But how groundless that supposition is, must clearly appear from our accounts of Theodotus, Praxeas, and others of that principle.

(*m*) Alogos hoc nomine arguit Epiphanius et Damascenus, quos vide *H.* 51. Evangelium Johannis rejecerunt Ebionæi, Cerinthiani, Cerdoniani, et Theodotus Byzantinus, atque Marcion. *Ap. Philast.* p. 120.

F I N I S.

